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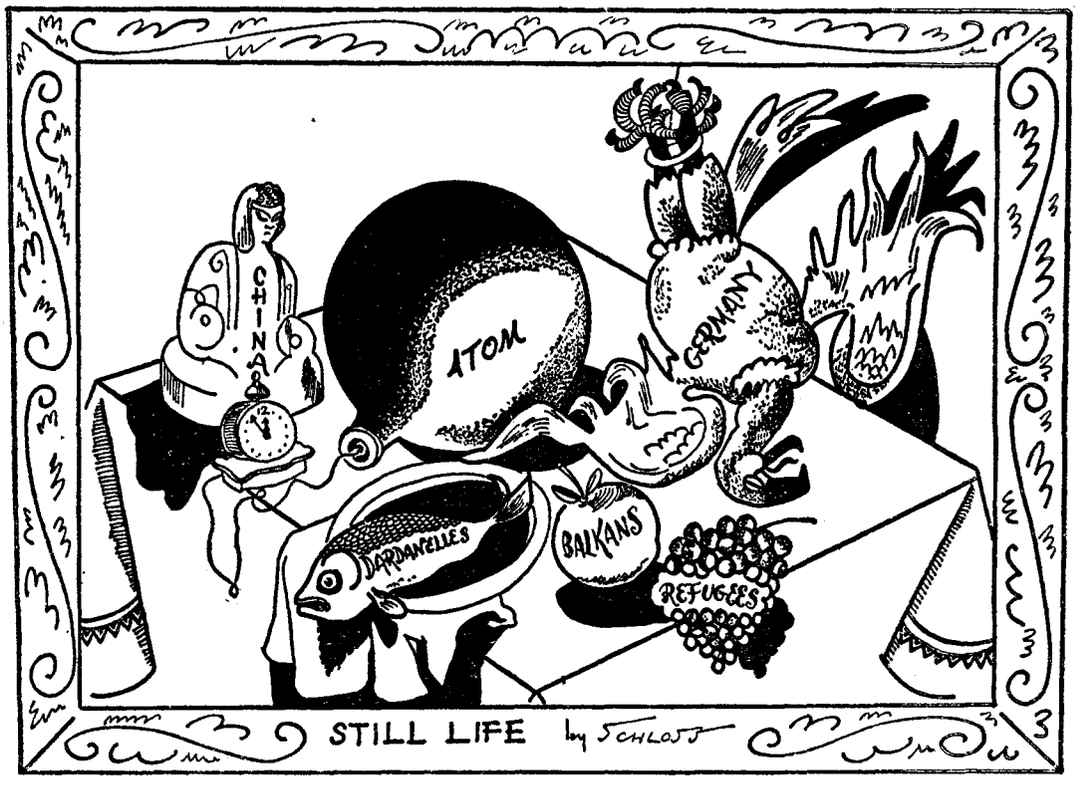

Stalin, by Harold Laski

Facts About the Meat Shortage

Russia: Lerner v. the Alsops

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The "Committee of 100"

Founded by WILLIAM ALLAN NEILSON

Dedicated to the Creation of an America of Justice and Equality for Our Negro Fellow Citizens

20 WEST 40th STREET • NEW YORK 18, N. Y.

The acquittal of twenty-three of the twenty-five Negro defendants at Lawrenceburg, Tennessee, on charges arising out of the Columbia, Tennessee, mob outrages against the Negro community, constitutes one of the great victories in the struggle for Negro rights in the South. The convictions obtained against two defendants are felt to have been an honest mistake on the part of the all-white jury. These convictions will be appealed. For this victory, we owe thanks to more than 5,000 Americans who contributed to the establishment of the Columbia, Tennessee, Defense Fund following an appeal by this committee, and to the brilliant work of defense counsel.

During the last few months a wave of bloody repression has arisen against the Negro. It coincides with the first outpouring of Negro voters in Democratic primaries throughout the South. It is given direction by the Talmadges and the Bilbos who call openly for all measures to prevent the Negro from voting. It has brought forth such atrocities as the Georgia massacre; the blinding of Army veteran Isaac Woodard in South Carolina; the cold-blooded murder of Maceo Snipes, the only Negro to vote in Taylor County, Georgia; the flogging to death of a Negro tenant farmer in Sunflower County, Mississippi. There have been more deaths by lynchings in 1946 than in any year since 1937.

This rising tide of race hatred and bloodshed menaces the American Negro community as it has been menaced only once before during the past two decades. In 1943, at the time of the Detroit riots, the country responded to the appeal of the late William Allan Neilson and surmounted a hysteria which threatened to engulf the nation in bloody race-war. His leadership is lost but we inherit his responsibility.

Every decent American can help in this crisis through support of the legal defense work of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the bulwark of the American Negro community in their struggle for survival. Your gift, whether it is $5 or $500, will be used effectively and at once to preserve our common American heritage of equal justice for all our people.

FRANCIS J. McCONNELL,
Chairman.

BISHOP FRANCIS J. McCONNELL, *Chairman*
The "Committee of 100"
20 West 40th Street, New Yoork 18, N. Y.

I want to do my share in support of the work of the N.A.A.C.P. Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc., and enclose $..... as my contribution toward the $100,000 Appeal for 1946 sponsored by the "Committee of 100."

Name .....

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THE NEW REPUBLIC

A Journal of Opinion

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Byrnes, Hull and Peace

FOR THOSE who still held hope that the United States might, at the eleventh hour, generate enlightened leadership at the Luxembourg conference, Secretary Byrnes's speech at the American Club in Paris must have been bitterly disappointing. A rereading of the text leaves the impression that he may have been marking time. He, as well as some other principal figures of the conference, seems to be awaiting fruition of some maneuver that has not been disclosed to the world. It may be that he did not completely take the American people into his confidence last Thursday.

The aides Byrnes left at the State Department do not hide their discomfort at the prospect that the Luxembourg meeting will conclude in a hodgepodge of unsatisfactory compromises. It may be that Byrnes still hopes to salvage either from the conference or from the subsequent meeting of the Council of Foreign Ministers a degree of understanding among the great powers that certainly is not yet in evidence.

It might be well to grant him the benefit of such an assumption. That is as good an explanation as any for Byrnes's decision to rehash before the anxious world the substance on which he has dwelt often in the past before much less impressive forums.

The Luxembourg delegates, thirsting for any hint that the great powers might be able to find substantial understanding on their vast differences, could hardly have been roused to enthusiasm by Byrnes's recital of the reasons why Senators Connally and Vandenberg agreed to accompany him to Paris as a guarantee of the good intentions of the United States Senate. Neither could these delegates draw much encouragement from Byrnes's answer to Premier Stalin that while no war may be in immediate prospect, nations still are seeking advantages which cannot be obtained short of war. The conclusion of some of the Luxembourg delegates must have been that nations ought to make their actions conform to their words; if Byrnes was looking toward the Dardanelles, it must be assumed that Russia was staring back at the continued American manufacture and stockpiling of atomic bombs and charges by Drew Pearson and others that the bombs are being sent to England.

There was something defensive in the Paris speech. It seems strange at this juncture that Byrnes should have found it necessary to belabor his contention that the Truman-Byrnes-Vandenberg policy is a continuation of the policies established by Franklin D. Roosevelt. Being a practical man, the Secretary must be well aware that it will require more than a recourse to the Roosevelt name to justify the lack of accomplishment at Luxembourg, unless he believes he can pull a diplomatic rabbit out of the hat at the last minute.

The Secretary could have found slight cause for satisfaction in the birthday statement from Cordell Hull. This statement, which may be the valedictory of the father of the United Nations, could readily have provided a resounding endorsement of the Truman-Byrnes-Vandenberg line had Hull chosen to extend such an endorsement. It was notable that Hull chose otherwise, and called for unity at home and great-power agreement without reference directly to Byrnes's labors at Paris.

The Results at Nuremberg

ONE HUNDRED years from now, the trials at Nuremberg will be remembered because for the first time, in a situation with definite action involved, aggressive war was ruled to be a crime against humanity, with definite and severe punishment involved. Whatever else the future may bring, that is a far-reaching step of historic significance.

There is a popular impression that the court acted both against aggression in war and crimes against humanity as such; but this is not the case. The only crimes against humanity which were considered were those directly connected with the making of aggressive war. That was the reason given for the acquittal of Schacht, von Papen and Fritzsche. Their misdeeds were numerous, but the court felt—against the opinion of some of its members—that these misdeeds had not been directly connected with the making of aggressive war. Millions of people all over the world will feel that the court was splitting hairs in the case of these three individuals. The acquittal of Schacht, in particular, has probably closed the door against the prosecution of hundreds of other spokesmen for big business

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who, like himself, participated in the rise of the Nazis to power. The world may have reason bitterly to regret this extraordinary clemency.

The judges at Nuremberg were admittedly writing ex-post-facto law, making a crime of something which was not universally admitted to be a crime when the deed was done, although they searched through all sorts of existing international laws for such authority as they could muster, and assembled an impressive amount. They hoped to set forward the standards of civilization, so that any nation contemplating war in the future might be deterred by the prospect that the statesmen who plot such a war are liable to be taken out and hanged. They also hoped that the German people, who had surrendered so abjectly and completely to Nazism, would be impressed by the punishment and thereby be moved toward democracy.

Taking the less important point first, is there any evidence that the trials will have the desired effect on the German people? On this we need the testimony of a group which hardly seems to have been consulted—the social psychologists. Our military and political leaders naïvely assume that whatever would be a good lesson to us will also be a good lesson to the Germans—or the Italians, or the Japanese. But in fact, moral lessons have validity only in relation to your own frame of reference; and the German frame is very different from our own.

As to the larger issue, the degree of effectiveness of the Nuremberg decisions will obviously depend to some extent upon the success of the United Nations. If a court is to punish individuals guilty of aggressive warfare, clearly it is better if a world organization exists to decide who has been guilty of aggression. The hope is, of course, that the success of the United Nations will in the future make the question academic, by doing away with war in toto. But the answer to this is to be found in Paris, in Washington, London, Moscow and at Lake Success—not at Nuremberg.

Baruch v. Wallace

Baruch's failure to discern the real meat of the atomic-energy-control problem vis-a-vis Russia was brought out clearly in the voluminous exchange between him and the former Secretary of Commerce. Wallace has not been too successful, however, in clarifying the real nature of the "central issues," the real essence of a plan that will assure Russia, "by deed as well as by word, of our sincere desire to pay due regard to Russian as well as American security needs during the period of transition to full international control of the atom."

For this, a "single-package" treaty is not enough, as Baruch would see if he took the trouble to place himself in the position of the Russians and look with their eyes at the proposition which the Americans have placed before them.

Baruch guarantees that his proposed treaty will spell out in every detail the steps to be taken by each nation at each stage in a process that is to end in an all-powerful Atomic Development Authority. Such a promise cannot allay Russian fears. Only if the relative security positions of America and Russia are equally modified at each stage, only if the completion of each stage finds no nation relatively advantaged or disadvantaged by reason of the grants and sacrifices made, can the process be viewed without suspicion. There can be no *quid* asked of Russia at the end of one year to be balanced by a *quo* from America some four years later.

To give one example: it has been frequently suggested that one of the first things the ADA must do is to compile a world inventory of uranium and thorium resources. This would cause the United States to give up very little, but Russia would have to give up one of her principal military assets in the atomic-weapons field, one of her two or three hole cards in what appears now a remarkably weak hand. Granted, America promises to give up her entire hand—a very powerful one—some years later. But from the point of view of Russia, how would her security position be changed vis-a-vis America, how would it stand during that interim period?

There are measures which this nation can take to convince Russia that the bargain will be a fair one at each stage of its evolution. Baruch has apparently not even considered the need of doing any convincing.

Military Training

The War Department last week reopened its drive to obtain universal military training. In an effort to gain public support before the Eightieth Congress convenes, Secretary of War Patterson called on the nation to back the War Department's plan, which would require youths to train for six months and serve the equivalent of another six months as part-time reserves.

The announcement was timed to coincide with the American Legion convention in the hope of winning the backing of its three million members to the Army's plan for six full months of service instead of the Legion proposal of only four months. The War Department is faced with a tough sales campaign to put through Congress the estimated $2 billion program, which contemplates that 726,000 men, between the ages of 18 and 20, would be trained by the Army alone. The Navy would train under its own plan.

So far, the Army hasn't been able to enlist the full backing of any veterans' group. The American Veterans' Committee has gone on record as opposing any form of compulsory military training whatsoever. There is no sign that either the CIO, the AFL or any of the many women's organizations which have consistently resisted movements to militarize the nation in peacetime are going to do an about-face at Patterson's request.

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The Economic Outlook

THE APPRAISAL of the economic outlook by government economists has undergone an interesting evolution. During 1945 there was almost unanimous agreement that the summer of 1946 would see unemployment rise to six or eight million. During the first nine months of 1946, with unemployment never exceeding 2.7 million, thinking veered to the other extreme and led to the theory that we were in for a three or four-year boom. Since the collapse of price control and the stock-market break, the general expectation is that somewhere around the middle of 1947 we shall have a comparatively brief "shakedown depression" which might well be followed by another boom.

This point of view underlies John Steelman's latest quarterly report for the Office of War Mobilization and Reconversion. Although Steelman refuses to let precise forecasts take him out on a limb, he does make the following point: "A further rapid price rise might choke off demand, upset business stability and precipitate an early and severe price collapse, with serious economic and social consequences."

This analysis is backed up by a review of the major economic factors affecting future employment. One of the most valuable parts of the report, and one given hardly any attention in the press, is the discussion of wages. "While average wage rates have increased by a substantial amount," says Steelman, "the money which the average working family has to spend per week has decreased since V-E Day. . . . The rise in prices, plus taxes, has driven 'real' wages back to the lowest point since early war years." The statistics in his report very strongly suggest that when the collapse comes, a defective wage structure may give us a prolonged rather than a temporary depression.

When it comes down to a question of what to *do* to cope with the threat of a shakedown depression, Steelman offers the following:

> If consumer spending or business spending should falter, due to continued price increases, declines in the stock market or psychological factors, the government must be prepared to readjust its policies to promote an increase in consumption. Resumption of needed construction activities by federal agencies would be an important measure to increase total wage and salary payments and stimulate business investment. For this reason, public works should be blueprinted and ready to go, even during the present period of sharp construction cutbacks. Tax and other fiscal policies would also require reëxamination and readjustment. In any areas of the economy where monopolistic practices block the downward readjustment of prices by stifling competition, the government should take vigorous action.

Such wishful phrases as "would be" and "should be" indicate that even the limited powers which the President now has *are not being* used to plan for a possible emergency. There is little of the dynamic and aggressive approach needed to carry the case to the public. Behind the words of exhortation there is an almost

Things to Watch Out For:

Secretary Byrnes to go to the greatest lengths to avoid coming home from Paris empty-handed after the Wallace incident. The best guess is that he will return with arrangements completed for another Big Three conference.

French and Dutch business interests to unload a major part of their holdings in this country. The French will sell $100 million worth or more and the Dutch up to $800 million. Both governments insist this does not constitute "dumping," but our industrialists are fearful of the effect on American securities.

The War Department to request establishment of a board to investigate the question of universal military training. The Army hope would be that the board's report would boost its compulsory-training plan through Congress. The American Legion will back down on its opposition to the War Department plan if the action seems necessary to get some kind of universal-training bill.

Former Representative Joseph Casey (D, Mass.) to be named Solicitor General. This will square accounts between him and Attorney General Clark, whose original appointment as Assistant Attorney General largely was the result of Casey's support.

The Department of Justice to request the new Congress to pass a comprehensive civil-rights statute. The Administration knows that public pressure will force the introduction of such a measure next year and prefers to get the credit itself.

A new labor shortage, with longer working hours generally and women back in the factory, if economic collapse is avoided in the next few months. The 58 million now employed represent almost the total of available labor. Wartime manpower measures would be required to step up production much more.

Internationalist Harold Stassen to disappoint his admirers by entering the Idaho senatorial campaign in support of the arch-isolationist Republican candidate, Henry Dworshak.

President Truman to reëxamine the question of removing the boycott of Argentine beef, as election pressures become even greater. Meanwhile, the next step on meat will be a fair-distribution order to channel the normal proportion of meat to cities.

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complete vacuum with respect to specific program.

One reason is the delay in the appointment of the Council of Economic Advisers under the Full Employment Act. If the Council had been set up in February when the Act was passed, there would have been enough time to do an effective planning job for 1947. Now that the Council has been appointed and is getting under way, there is the possibility that it can hammer out a realistic program to cope with the deflation danger, for use by the President in his first Economic Report to Congress in January.

What the Liberals Should Do

THE ENFORCED RESIGNATION of Henry Wallace from President Truman's cabinet, and its overtones regarding both foreign and domestic policy, present a serious challenge to liberals as to their future course. The *New Republic* therefore asked a group of well known progressives what, in their judgment, should now be the liberals' strategy. We present below the replies received up to the time of going to press. Others will be published as they come in.

The task of the liberals, as I see it, both before and after Henry Wallace's resignation, is threefold.

1. To foster in every way increases in our industrial and farm production; to work constantly to assure a more fair division of the fruits of this production; to promote governmental programs designed to eliminate the boom-and-bust cycle, to curb monopoly, to promote free competition and to fight vigorously for these programs against the forces of reaction.

2. To push forward the struggle for individual liberty, including the right of true free speech, the right of racial minorities to equal employment opportunities and the right to vote—a struggle which we are winning all too slowly.

3. To insist that we work through the United Nations toward the development of a lasting peace; not threateningly as a member of an atomic-power bloc; but patiently and firmly on the basis of the principles of the Atlantic Charter, applied with equal vigor to all nations in all parts of the world, including the Pacific.

Essex, Conn. CHESTER BOWLES

Liberals ought to stop talking about a third party, which would only succeed in electing a Bricker or a Taft, and ought to keep their eyes on the ball—the November elections and the Eightieth Congress of the United States. Remember, only 25 seats in the House of Representatives stand between the American people and the Republican normalcy of 1930.

Los Angeles, Calif. HELEN GAHAGAN DOUGLAS

I am not aware that American liberals have necessarily waited for Henry A. Wallace to speak before having views of their own, although they have always been interested in his opinion. It seems to me that, regardless of his enforced resignation, they should continue to collaborate and express their thoughts on all matters of public concern, both domestic and international. Personally, I am not in accord with Mr. Wallace's "spheres-of-influence" theory as expressed in his Madison Square Garden speech, but neither do I think that President Truman is entitled either to credit or respect for removing Wallace from the cabinet after he had himself cleared Wallace's speech and told his press conference that he fully approved of it, since it was in accordance with American foreign policy.

Washington, D. C. HAROLD L. ICKES

Without Wallace in the cabinet, liberal forces in America are weaker. Our strategy now must be to demonstrate our political power so that we cannot be ignored. This means at once taking so active a part in the 1946 elections that Truman, Hannegan and company will realize they cannot get along without us. If they see this plainly, they may mend their ways before 1948. If they do not, we must begin immediately after the 1946 elections to plan for 1948. The independent voters, well organized, have the balance of political power in this country. If we work hard enough we can get a liberal Congress to offset the disappointing White House. In 1948 we can have a large voice in who will get the presidential nomination.

New York City FRANK KINGDON

Ours is a world of profound paradox. The war is no more than ended. Yet talk in all capitals is of another war. The war was won for freedom for all people. Yet repression abroad, in Greece, for example, is matched by oppression at home. The Ku Klux Klan grows, bodies hang from the poplar trees. Anti-Semitism receives increasing support. The labor movement confronts a challenge to its very existence. The legislation proposed in the last Congress makes this overwhelmingly clear. Freedom, it seems, won only an opportunity to fight, not to rest. Finally, science has released powers which can wipe poverty from America today, and from the world tomorrow. Yet, the world languishes in hunger. And in an abundant America, fear of a new and terrible depression haunts intelligent men everywhere. This world, our world, faces appalling catastrophe and equally profound opportunity. The job of the liberals is to embrace the opportunity and avoid the catastrophe.

Concretely, liberals must invest their understanding, honesty and deep moral earnestness in this war for peace, abundance and freedom. To do so, they must strip themselves of weakness. They must forgo their delight in fine distinctions, their habit of personal autonomy carried to the point of anarchy—or, as Roosevelt said, their perfectionism. They must learn to discipline themselves, to work as a unit with other great popular groups, notably the labor movement, on which our destiny depends. They must descend from ivory towers. But having done so, they must join *their* army, and stop their reckless, critical lament about the shortcomings of that army. Their critical shafts should be saved for the enemy, not their friends.

I think this now means support of the Democratic Party. Not all Democrats, nor all Democratic ends. But they must strive—let me put it bluntly—to get control of that party and make it serve the purposes which Roosevelt made it serve. If, a year from now, that proves a futile dream, they must form a political instrument of their own.

Abroad, this means aid to the leftward drift everywhere. Above all, it means insistence that our foreign policy reject both the defeatism and the war impulse of the coalition that has captured control of our foreign affairs. It means a wholehearted acceptance of the Soviet Union as a nation that desires peace and will assist in the construction of peace. It means, I submit, recovery from that liberal malaise of our time: the rejection of Russia because she does not equate with our very private blueprints of the good society. This malaise divides progressives. And it strengthens those whose only purpose is to ensure victory for counter-revolution throughout the world.

Liberals, in a word, must grow up into responsible political animals—and quick!

New York City J. RAYMOND WALSH

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FAO: THE COPENHAGEN STORY

by Russell Smith of the National Farmers' Union

Copenhagen

The postwar world's condition took a turn for the better this month here on Denmark's fruitful little island of Zealand.

Working under Sir John Boyd Orr, delegates to the second conference of the Food and Agricultural Organization of the United Nations held the first successful international conference since the UN was set up at San Francisco.

Sir John, the FAO's Director General, as instructed by a previous conference, had put forward proposals for the establishment of a world agency to deal with problems of food and fiber. Without trying to give details, Sir John hammered on the theme that the world cannot permit simultaneous "surpluses" and starving people.

Out of this statement and restatement a great hope was born. The delegates arrived with Sir John's report under their arms, and doubtful eagerness was in the air.

Here was an international meeting of nations that was occupied with the real needs of people, and that would consider such things as food, clothing, housing. Still, there were the inevitable questions. Russia was not even represented by an observer. Above all, what position would be taken by the United States and the United Kingdom?

The American State Department had confused nearly everyone even before the United States delegation arrived at Copenhagen. An inspired story in the American press had implied that the cabinet had turned thumbs down on Sir John's goals. It was known, too, that the American State Department was distrustful. There were rumors that the British would fight for delay, urging that action be left to the Economic and Social Council of the UN. Britain certainly would accept no plan endangering her position as broker to the world.

It was in this atmosphere of prayerful suspense that the American delegate, Undersecretary of Agriculture Ed Dodd, rose to present his statement on the United States position. Americans can well be proud of what followed.

Dodd is a farmer who has come late in life to high public responsibility, and his declaration was a plain, unornamented recital. Farmers make up most of the peoples of the world, and by and large they have received fewer rewards for their toil than any other group. All others, everywhere, need the produce of farms. The nations cannot afford another great world depression, and they need not risk one. Therefore, the United States endorses the objectives put forward by Sir John, and it proposes the creation of a special commission that will report specific methods of working toward those objectives.

A sigh of profound relief swept the great upper council chamber of Denmark's Parliament building as Dodd concluded and John Strachey, the British spokesman, made his way to the speaker's stand. Strachey delivered a brilliant analysis of the problem of "too much" food and too little eating, agreeing that a special commission was needed. But he concluded weakly with a plea that the commission report to the Economic and Social Council, ensuring futility for the next year.

A line was thus drawn between the British and the American delegations on an issue far more important than it appeared. American farm delegates and men from the British dominions and commonwealths knew farm prices would come down before long. This fact offered a tie between them and the delegates of "have-not" nations. As the members of the British delegation began to weaken, Fiorello LaGuardia of UNRRA flew to Copenhagen and made a stirring plea.

As the conference broke up into committees it had become clear that the British had modified their position, and that their objections would pretty much be met if the Economic and Social Council, the World Bank and Monetary Fund and other agencies were permitted to send observers.

Then came the State Department's bombshell, which fortunately did not explode because the fuse had been removed in Copenhagen. Acting Secretary Clayton cabled that a new cabinet meeting had reversed the instructions of the American delegation and that it would now support the "British position," which no longer existed. Later, it was learned that the full cabinet had not in fact approved such a reversal, that a "rump" meeting of members known to oppose action by the FAO had discussed the matter, and that the Department of Agriculture had not been invited to attend. Although the maneuver failed, the consistent antagonism of the Department to the wishes of the representatives of the people should give cause for deep thought to those who have not shared the doubts of Henry Wallace as to the wisdom of the custodians of our foreign policy.

That cable never reached the United States delegation as a whole. The American position was not altered, and in the end the FAO conference set its face toward economic peace and security. No later than November 1, a preparatory commission composed of the experts of 16 nations will meet in Washington and begin the hard job of erecting a world structure that will take the first slow steps toward bringing food and hunger into balance. It will be working under the same Sir John Boyd Orr, and when it has finished its task he will issue the call for a third FAO conference that will seek to put the new mechanism to work.

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The Chiefs of Staff

THIS WEEK a Senate committee kicked aside some of the secrecy covering one of the most powerful bodies in the world—the Joint Chiefs of Staff. In its quick look, the committee discovered buck-passing, inefficiency and almost unlimited irresponsible authority.

The Joint Chiefs are four men, the two highest-ranking professional Army and Navy officers. The chairman now, and during the war, is Admiral William Leahy, with the official title of Chief of Staff to the Commander-in-Chief.

Both the Joint Chiefs of Staff and Admiral Leahy's official position stem from the emergency war powers granted to Roosevelt by Congress. The Joint Chiefs and the Chief of Staff were created for the war emergency. Truman has repeatedly been asked at his news conferences when he would declare the emergency over, but he has always evaded the question.

The Joint Chiefs were used by Roosevelt to develop a unified global strategy under his close direction. Recognizing the tremendous power he had given them to short-cut the Secretaries of War and Navy, and Congress, he kept a close watch on the military. Truman is not so eagle-eyed.

The Senate War Investigating Committee, now headed by Harley Kilgore (D, W. Va.), had not meant to pry into the Joint Chiefs of Staff. His committee stumbled on it while investigating the notorious $135-million Canol venture.

The JCS had repeatedly ordered the Canol project completed in the face of opposition from the then Secretary of the Navy, Frank Knox, the War Production Board, the wartime oil boss, Harold Ickes, and criticism by the Senate.

When the Senate committee asked for the JCS files to justify the adventure of bringing oil to Alaska and the Aleutians at 43 below zero temperatures, the military hierarchy said their records on the project were secret. Admiral Ernest King, a member of the JCS, wrote the committee, "Secrecy must be preserved, otherwise national security will be endangered."

After V-J Day, the Senators tried repeatedly to get a look at the files. Last Saturday, on orders from President Truman, the files were declassified and the committee finally saw them. These files were before Senator Ferguson (R, Mich.) and Senator Kilgore when Admiral King testified a week ago. The Admiral was angry. He had taken the rap for the Canol bust and was singled out by the committee in a scathing report. The result was that, during the testimony, he revealed that the Joint Chiefs regarded themselves as not subject to orders or directions from the civilian Secretaries of War and Navy. They could make broad decisions affecting the armed services and keep them secret from everyone but the President, who would be aware of the decisions only if informed by Admiral Leahy. The Joint Chiefs do not vote on their actions. They arrive at them by agreement.

Senator Ferguson asked Admiral King if the JCS did not take action to prevent the Senators from getting the Canol facts. The witness answered, "Yes, we looked upon ourselves as an agency of the President."

Kilgore presented evidence that Secretary Knox was opposed to Canol. Admiral King said he was not aware of it. He had never talked to the Secretary of the Navy about Canol. "It never occurred to me that he might have any interest in the project."

The Joint Chiefs, King revealed, have stopped other investigations by Congress or executive agencies simply by marking the files "secret." Senator Ferguson commented, "You mean nothing was secret but it was just a practice to keep information secret from the committee so that it couldn't get facts."

The Senators were unable to pin Admiral King down on final responsibility for Canol.

Until the emergency is ended by White House order, the Joint Chiefs of Staff may continue to exercise broad powers in secret. They may determine the number and type of atomic bombs produced, the number of troops and their armaments in occupied areas, production of armaments and hundreds of other matters affecting national and international policy. The only civilian to get a look in is Harry Truman.

Lawrenceburg Verdict

by Vincent Sheean

THE VERDICT given at Lawrenceburg last week on the case of the twenty-five Negroes from Columbia, Tennessee, at the climax of a trial bizarre beyond precedent, was the kind of thing that makes us realize the full splendor of our destiny as a nation. Disregarding the whole farrago of sectionalism which had constituted the closing argument for the prosecution, this jury—twelve good men and true—brought in a verdict of not guilty for twenty-three of the accused men, and held two guilty.

It would probably have been impossible under the conditions to free them all, and the two who were found guilty were in fact the only ones against whom the state brought any kind of proof connecting them with the shooting of Will Willsford. It was not very good proof and is unlikely to engage the approbation of the Supreme Court of Tennessee, but at any rate these two (Bob Gentry and John McKivons) were involved by testimony, such as it is.

But hitherto it had been generally assumed that these twenty-five men would be condemned indiscriminately, that they would receive maximum sentences and that this case would have to be carried all the way to the Supreme Court of the United States. The prose-

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cution demanded maximum punishment; the defense asked, but without much hope, for acquittal. The week of terror in Columbia last February, from which this trial arose, was not calculated to inspire much trust in the law-enforcement officers, at least on the part of helpless people. And the atmosphere of the courtroom, to put it mildly, was not encouraging to the defense.

Yet twelve citizens of Lawrence County had the courage and decency to disregard all that. They were able to rise above a really terrifying flood of hatred let loose in the courtroom by the closing speech for the state. Mr. Paul Bumpus, the Attorney General for this circuit—customarily addressed, believe it or not, as General Bumpus—made an oration in two parts.

In the first part, delivered at the end of Thursday's session, he made an impassioned plea for more hangings, on the ground that the trials at Nuremberg were not going to furnish enough victims. His candidates for the honor appeared to include some writer or writers of what he called "syndicated articles"—a matter which must surely have been outside the jury's ken.

In the second part of his oration, delivered Friday morning, General Bumpus again had some harsh words for these writers of syndicated articles, but he had broadened his range in the meantime to include also a large number of characters whose names ended in "ski" —names like Stinkski and Eleanorski. Along with these, he was in favor of exterminating certain rats, skunks, lice, punks, pimps and other forms of animal life which, he said, had invaded the Southland. I did not get quite all of his words into my notes, but that will give you a rough idea.

Now, of course, there are men to whom this sort of argument makes some appeal. It is always possible to represent one part of the country as being "invaded" by another part. As a matter of fact, Lawrence County did not at all like the idea of Maury County trying its case at Lawrenceburg. But the whole tenor of the Bumpus argument brought it into, or near, the region of outright hysteria, and made it unintelligible to men of good will. In all probability the jury resented the tirade as much as anybody else did, especially as so much of it referred to matters they could not as a jury know anything about.

The effect of the verdict upon those who heard it was stunning. I doubt if anybody in the courtroom expected the result. My own faith in our people is so great that I have believed all along that an acquittal was possible; but this opinion was not shared by others who knew the case and its social origins better than I did. They were silent and motionless as they tried to realize what it meant. The judge himself, reading the verdict twice with extreme deliberation and asking that it be confirmed, seemed to be trying to take it in.

A more stinging rebuke to the prosecution would have been difficult or impossible under the social conditions of the time and place. And it was administered not by any of the long-nosed carpetbaggers Mr. Bumpus was talking about, but by twelve good men and true, citizens of Lawrence County and citizens of the nation.

Seven of these men are farmers, and they want to get home now in the autumnal beauty of their country and get the crops in and live in peace with their neighbors. This is the moment for cotton and molasses and corn and beans. They have no real use for the kind of racism and sectionalism that flowered so luxuriantly in that courtroom. Into their hands and into the hands of the white youth of the South this problem must, of course, be intrusted for any solution it is likely to have.

This Is a Southern Problem

The one thing I felt to be perfectly valid in Mr. Bumpus' thesis was the idea which lay beneath all the vituperation, to wit: that this is primarily a Southern problem and the intrusion of any element from the other parts of our society is likely to be resented—and, being so resented, is likely to make things worse rather than better. Doctrinaire elements of the extreme Left are no more helpful in this matter than is Mr. Bumpus himself. The Negroes have a long, hard row to hoe, but those who wish to help them will have to learn how to appeal to the good will of Southern white men, our brothers and our fellow citizens, who have so magnificently proved their mettle by this verdict.

The departing carpetbagger, removing his beak with utmost speed, has much food for thought. There are deep and terrible things here. But there are also things which twist the heart with wonder. Where did the twelve good men and true get the spirit that brought in this verdict? They got it from the whole complex of American life, which is still, in spite of many contradictions, the best life yet achieved on this planet for masses of men.

They are like Beryl Sellers, the Associated Press reporter from Chattanooga, who used to work side by side with Negroes on his uncle's farm in Georgia, shaking peanuts for 50 cents a day, and has nothing but compassion for them.

They are like the Thigpen brothers, who have the taxi stand a block away from the county courthouse: Oren was a crew chief on a C-47 in our Troop Carrier Command in England, and his brother Jimmy was a machinist's mate on the *Maryland* in the Pacific.

The man who drove me to the Nashville airport, Ed Lane, jumped on D Day in Normandy with the 82nd Air-Borne. These people have no use for racism of any kind. Their inherited problems are tremendous, but so are their energies and their will. It all depends on them.

Vincent Sheean, well known foreign correspondent, is the author of several books, including Personal History, Birds of the Wilderness *and* Between the Thunder and the Sun. *His article is reprinted, with Mr. Sheean's permission, from the New York* Herald Tribune.

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Washington Wire—"Quick, Harry, Be Flip"

I HAVE JUST BEEN looking through my cherished old file of Roosevelt speeches for a particular purpose. Do you recall this quotation? It comes from one of the funniest and perhaps the most effective political speech of our times.

"These Republican leaders have not been content with attacks upon me, or my wife, or my sons—they now include my little dog Fala."

Yes, Roosevelt's famous Teamsters' speech, delivered only two years ago, September 23, 1944. Up to that time we journalists had been predicting a dull, drab, apathetic election, overshadowed by war, with Democrats endangered by the inability to get out the vote. Then suddenly, in a rip-roaring, hilarious, terrifically confident surprise attack, Roosevelt let go at the Teamsters' banquet. It was the use of humor against a humorless man. Dewey on his special train tore up his dull prepared speech and came back at Roosevelt hammer-and-tongs. Roosevelt never tried to repeat the performance. At the sacrifice of some dignity he had achieved his strategic objective, to liven up the campaign. He knew perfectly well that apathy was the real danger for the Democrats.

One of the best analyses of the current 1946 elections, by Louis Bean, was printed in this magazine, September 16. More than ever it is apathy and indifference, as he shows statistically, which chiefly endanger the Democrats. The real stake is control of the House. It rather looks as though the Republicans would capture it. But they can do so only if they make inroads in the big-city vote, which is normally Democratic. These city voters are not apt to vote Republican, but they are apt, as Bean shows statistically, to stay away from the polls. That is just as effective ultimately. It is described, technically, as "voting with your feet."

Neither President Truman, nor any other living politician probably has the power to make a speech so effective, for its particular purpose, as the searing, rowdy, hilarious Teamsters' speech of two years ago. But just the same, some effort by Truman is now indicated by the course of events. Maybe he doesn't want to make the attempt. But as a candid tip from this column, what the Administration primarily needs now is not so much an effort to convert Republicans into Democrats as a drive to get the Democrats in big cities to vote at all.

The United States is getting a lot better economic information now than after World War I, as witness the quarterly reports of the Office of War Mobilization and Reconversion, to be followed later by those from the newly established Full Employment Council. The latest OWMR report seems to rivet down the fact that workers' earnings have dropped since the war ended, due to loss of overtime pay and other factors. The report comes right out and says the average employee in the manufacturing industry earned $47.12 in April, 1945, but was taking home only $43.07 in July, 1946, or $4.05 per week less." President Truman was asked about that at his press conference and agreed that it was a dangerous development. Not only have there been reduced weekly earnings for the "average working family," but the OWMR report adds that there has been an 11-percent rise in the prices of consumer goods between the two dates above. So the workingman's family is getting it from both ends. I have just been making a further computation on the matter for my own curiosity. The Federal Reserve Bulletin lists about 14,258,000 engaged in "manufacturing employment" as of July, 1946. If each worker has suffered a cash drop in wages of $4 and if my feeble arithmetic is right, that is a tidy little item of $57 million knocked out of the country's weekly wage bill right there, or about $3 billion a year. No wonder the stock market gives a shiver.

Chancellor of the Exchequer Hugh Dalton, who is also newly elected chairman of the world bank, has been quietly sounding out American financial officials here on a way for reducing the Anglo-American tax burden. Dalton, before coming here, negotiated the arrangement with Switzerland by which the latter's funds in Britain were finally thawed out. Like many Englishmen, Dalton regards with no sympathetic eye the high war profits of Switzerland and other neutrals. Swiss watch factories in the Jena mountains were busy all during the war making fuses for Germany. Food is plentiful today in Switzerland and taxes relatively light. With variations, that is true of other neutrals—Sweden, Argentina and so on. The English are asking why these neutrals cannot officially share the burden of feeding the conquered nations. On the moral side Dalton argues that it was Allied arms which rescued the neutrals from being themselves overrun. On the financial side he points to the bill of $320 million which his country carries for administering the British zone in Germany, a tax cost of around $6 a head to the British or $30 for a family of five. Dalton would like to see neutrals help shoulder the food bill. Why can't Switzerland provide the marginal food requirements for the 11 million Austrians, for example? He has found a sympathetic listener in Treasury Secretary John Snyder.

Notes. – It has been generally noticed that Henry Wallace is carrying through his pledge to Truman not to make campaign speeches till after the peace parley quits, on the theory that he should not rock the boat. . . . The Paris parley ends October 15 and Wallace's present itinerary doesn't begin until October 18 with a Michigan visit. . . . This may "rock the boat," however, on the UN General Assembly meeting and the tremendous task of writing the peace treaty with Germany. . . . Truman has adopted a consciously slower tempo at press conferences and seems to be guarding himself by saying "no comment" more often. . . . The State Department contemplates trimming Russian consular representation in America (New York, Los Angeles and San Francisco) if American representation is reduced, as threatened (Vladivostok, Archangel and Odessa).

Washington T. R. B

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Political Roundup—Republican Strategy

THE Republican National Committee believes that the GOP can win in November by saying little and promising nothing. The most recent platform statement issued by the committee goes back to June, 1944. There is not one piece of material on the issues in the 1946 elections to be found among all the stuff the committee's propaganda mill is turning out. Headquarters is telling state and local Republican leaders that the Democrats are doing their work for them by quarreling about foreign policy and price control. They are probably right, although the Democrats could retort with good reason that the Republicans in the past have booted away the chance for success more than once by their own colossal ineptitude. Neither party has much to boast of when it comes to running the wrong way with the ball.

The recent meeting of the 12-man Democratic National Committee in Washington was harmonious enough, but its members were frankly worried by the number of tough questions they have been called on to answer to the voters' satisfaction. The two big question marks this week were still Wallace and meat. It was anyone's guess whether the Republicans were right in expecting the results of Democratic confusion on these issues to work to their benefit.

Meat.—The Democrats have quieted most of the uprisings in their own ranks on the meat-price-control issue and are again ready to face the voting public with a solid front for keeping controls.

The Democratic congressional candidates Chairman Hannegan has been bringing into Washington at the rate of about 30 per week have been complaining loudly about the tremendous pressures they were under because of the meat shortage. But they made no public statements until Mayor Ed Kelly of Chicago and Majority Leader John McCormack of Massachusetts called for the removal of meat ceilings in order to relieve the pressure. Hannegan and Truman deserve credit for standing firm on the need for continued control and for whipping the party leaders back into line. But Truman has not yet summoned the courage to get tough with his own Secretary of Agriculture, Clinton Anderson, who, by playing very close to the big packers in the meat-price fight, has actually done more political damage to the party than anyone else involved.

The Battle Ground.—Leaders of both parties now agree privately that control of the House in the next Congress will be decided by a very narrow margin. The two national headquarters have narrowed the ground for serious fighting in the last weeks of the campaign to 63 districts in 20 states, which both agree can go either way. Forty-four of the 63 are concentrated in seven states—California (6), Connecticut (6), Illinois (6), Missouri (7), New York (7), Ohio (5) and Pennsylvania (7).

The Democrats concede that 42 of the 241 seats they now hold are doubtful. The Republicans admit concern over only 21 of the 193 they have. In order to make the net gain of 25 seats required to win control of the House, the Republicans, therefore, will have to hold all 21 of the doubtful Democratic seats, whereas the Democrats can afford to lose all of the doubtful Republican seats as well as 23 of their own.

The Republicans think their chances are brightest—and the Democrats feel that they are in the most danger—in Pennsylvania, where the Republicans say they are going to win four seats in Philadelphia alone, and in Connecticut, where the Republicans boast that they are going to elect a Governor and return a solid Republican delegation to Congress by winning all four of the seats now held by Democrats.

Women.—The women's division of the Democratic National Committee, the brightest spot in the party organization ever since Eleanor Roosevelt and Miss Molly Dewson came to Washington, is contributing an unusual amount to the campaign this year. Mrs. India Edwards and Miss Gladys Tillett have produced outstanding campaign literature which is being used in traveling caravans and local women's forums all over the country. Democratic women leaders are proud of the excellent progressive records of all five of the women incumbents who are running for reëlection: Mary Norton (N. J.), Helen Gahagan Douglas (Calif.), Emily Taft Douglas (Ill.), Helen Mankin (Ga.) and Chase Going Woodhouse (Conn.). They report that local women are taking great interest in getting out a big vote in five more districts where there are women candidates for Congress on the Democratic ticket this year: Martha Sharp (Mass., 14), Olive Goldman (Ill., 19), Margaret Afflis (Ind., 2), Georgia Lusk (N. M., at L.), Josephine Mayes (N. Y., 2).

Democratic women point out that although there were five Democratic and five Republican women members in the Seventy-ninth Congress, the Republicans are running only four women this year as compared to the Democrats' ten.

Pennsylvania.—Political insiders around Philadelphia say that any Democratic victories there in November will be won despite the Democratic "machine." Bosses Jack Kelly and Matt McCloskey have been largely concerned with outside projects for some time now, and while the Atlantic City racetrack is prospering, the local Democratic organization definitely is not. The experts say that, left to the bosses, all six of the city's congressional seats, now held by Democrats, will go Republican because of inertia, lack of workers, defeatism. PAC, the Independent Citizens' Committee and local veterans' committees are combining forces in the hope of saving two or three seats, concentrating on reëlecting Representative Bill Green, the only Pennsylvanian among the 13 who opposed Truman's proposed labor draft, in the 5th District.

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These Are the Facts About:
The Famine in Meat

WE ALL KNOW we cannot get meat, except occasionally in restaurants and in black markets. Why? What is the hope for the future? Is shortage the result of price control? Is there any meat, and if so, where is it and why is it not being sold?

WHAT CAUSED THE MEAT SHORTAGE?

Cattlemen and farmers who have cattle are not sending many to the stockyards. This is partly because propaganda by opponents of the Administration has led them to think that they can sell later at higher prices, and partly because the cattle are being fattened until they are in prime condition.

There are plenty of beef cattle on the ranges. Secretary of Agriculture Anderson has stated that there are 52 million head, and has warned the growers against holding them for higher prices, except those that are not sufficiently fattened.

A temporary drop in the number of marketable cattle was caused by the fact that when price controls lapsed on June 30, the zooming prices brought cattle to market which should have been kept for further fattening. But this did not depopulate the ranges and feeding lots.

The index of the number of livestock produced rose from 112 in 1940 to 138 in 1944 and has since remained almost as high. Livestock production almost always increases when the price of meat has a rising trend. Normally cattle output has a seven-year cycle. Even if it had started to fall, it would take a long time to reduce the cattle population.

WHAT ABOUT CIVILIAN DEMAND?

Consumption of meat by civilians was 15 percent higher per person in 1944 than before the war, and this year will be almost as high as in 1944. Many have been getting meat who could not previously afford it. The apparent shortage before last June was caused, not by decrease of supply, but by demand that has increased tremendously, with higher incomes and full employment.

If cattle were now being sold as fast as they are ready, there still would not be enough to satisfy the demand. Present incomes would permit consumption of 160 pounds per person per year; there will be 146 pounds, as against 133 pounds before the war.

WHAT HAPPENED WHEN MEAT PRICES WERE FREED?

In July, when the OPA was interrupted because Congress had not passed an acceptable law, the wholesale prices of livestock and poultry shot up from an index number of 137.4 to one of 162.9, or 19 percent in one month. Retail prices of meat increased about 70 percent in July and August.

In the same months deliveries of cattle to markets increased 80 percent over marketings for the same months of 1945. Some of these had been held back in June in anticipation of decontrol. Others were hastened to market before they were ready. Decontrol did not add a single cow or steer to the cattle production of the country. It decreased the poundage of meat available for future months.

HAS PRICE CONTROL DECREASED CATTLE BREEDING?

Ever since price control was established, the production and sale of meat have been much greater than in prewar years. Between June and December, 1945, farm marketings of livestock and its products ran between 35 and 55 percent greater than the average for 1935-39. Between January and May, 1946, the high rate of sales of livestock continued; in April it was 46 percent above the prewar base and in May, 45 percent above. In June a slump to 22 percent above prewar occurred (15 percent above if the figure is adjusted for seasonal variation). This slump was due, not to price control, but to the fact that reactionaries in Congress were threatening to abolish price control. Farmers and cattlemen naturally held back their shipments in hope of higher prices.

HOW ABOUT THE MEAT PACKERS?

Production of meat by packing houses in the last six months of 1945 ran between 29 and 55 percent higher than the average for 1935-39. In February, 1936, meat-packing output actually rose to 78 percent above prewar. It continued reasonably high until June, when it fell to 15 percent below the prewar figure. June was the month in which the effort to kill price control reached its height in Congress. At the end of that month price control was interrupted. Meat sellers immediately took their profiteering opportunity by delivering 65 percent more meat than the prewar average. All these figures are adjusted for normal seasonal variation.

The figures show that it was not price control, but the attack on it, which upset production of meat.

WERE PRICES HIGH ENOUGH TO ENCOURAGE GROWERS?

Wholesale prices of livestock and poultry in 1945 averaged 33 percent above 1925. By June of 1946 they had risen to 37.5 percent above, the highest price since the war started. In that month prices received by farmers for meat animals were far more than double the 1909-14 level, or 130 percent above it. Combining increased prices and increased volume, the cash income of farmers from marketing of meat animals was, all through the first half of 1946, about two and one-half times more than their income from this source in the prewar years 1935-39. In February, when marketings were highest, farmers even received *more than three times as much as prewar* from this

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source—the index number was 317. Even in June, when they held back shipments because Congress seemed about to end price control, farmers' cash income from meat was 209 percent of the prewar average. Prices were increased still further when control was reimposed. More price boosts would not produce more meat.

Where Do Beef Cattle Come From?

A large proportion are raised by cattlemen; some are bred on farms throughout the country. Some of those raised on cattle ranches are fattened on grass before shipment, others are sold to farmers who fatten them, largely on corn, before marketing. The chief wholesale markets for cattle are the public stockyards. One can tell much about the meat supply by the figures from these yards. In the first half of 1944, 8,506,000 cattle were received at these yards. In the same period of 1945, receipts of cattle were 9,812,000. In January-June, 1946, receipts were 8,864,000—more than in 1944 though less than in 1945. No shortage of meat at wholesale markets is indicated by these figures while price control was effective.

Figures showing what was done with these cattle indicate, however, that those slaughtered at the localities of the yards were 1,500,000 fewer in the first half of 1946 than in the first half of 1945. Instead, 146,000 more were sold as "stockers and feeders." That meant a bigger future supply of meat, since "stockers" are used to increase herds and "feeders" are to be fattened for market. There has been a steady increase in sales of stockers and feeders since 1944. In addition, there has been a great increase in total shipments out of the yards, presumably much of it to operators of the black market.

How About the Black Market?

One indication of a growing black market is the fact that during the first five months of 1946, cattle slaughtered under federal inspection fell steadily and constituted less than a third of the number so slaughtered in the same period of 1945. Federal inspection applies mainly to the big packing houses. Price ceilings can more readily be enforced on such meat. Cattle coming to stockyards may be shipped to small packers who sell only within their respective localities. Prices charged by these numerous small packers are much harder to control. Prices paid for cattle at the stockyards are fixed by public bidding and are legally subject to control, but there are many ways of paying extra which escape routine supervision. Small packers who sell in the black market can afford to pay prices which federally inspected packers cannot. Small packers also buy cattle from farmers in their localities without much federal supervision.

Those who buy black-market meat not only pay higher prices but run the risk of improper grading and of eating meat which federal inspectors would not pass as fit for human consumption.

Would Removal of Price Control Increase the Supply?

All the meat now slaughtered for black markets is sold to somebody. Removal of price control would merely restore it—at equally high prices—to normal channels. No more consumers would get meat than before. Only those who could afford to pay for it would get it—as at present.

Removal of price control might bring more cattle to market temporarily. It would not increase the number of cattle on the ranges or the farms. If it induced marketing of cattle before they were sufficiently fattened, it would actually reduce the future supply.

Black markets should be broken up, but not by removing price control.

How Soon Will the Supply Increase Under Price Control?

The normal process of fattening cattle for market means that more are sold in October, November and December than in July, August and September. In 1945, for instance, the index number of livestock marketed (without adjustment for seasonal variation) were:

June	147
July	139
August	135
September	135
October	154
November	155
December	140

This year the figures were reversed for June and July, June being low and July being high. That means that cattle held off the market in June were sold later when prices shot up. There should be some fall increase in the supply. The longer cattlemen withhold shipments, the greater will be the supply in the end. Such a strike cannot last forever. Its ultimate result, if long continued, would be an abundance of meat at low prices which would mean great loss to the growers, even if meat were decontrolled.

What About Pork Products?

The combined spring and fall production of hogs is expected to be six percent below 1945 and the smallest since 1940. Production of hogs depends on the ratio between the price of hogs and the price of corn—the principal feed used to fatten them. Hog prices have recently risen less than corn prices. The ratio for June—10.1—was on the low side and was lower than for many months before.

Nevertheless, this situation may soon be reversed. This year a bumper corn crop is expected. Indications on August 1 were that it would be nearly 3.5 billion bushels, against 3 billion in 1945 and an average of 2.6 billion for the years 1935-44. Corn prices should fall. More pigs will be farrowed as a consequence. This will not immediately affect the supply, but nothing could do that. Decontrol of hog prices is not necessary.

The Outlook for the Future

The slight decline of meat production since 1944 was caused by the shortage of feed grains such as corn and wheat. Production dropped, but only from 24.7 billion pounds in 1944 to 22.9 billion in 1945 and an estimated 22.6 billion in 1946. The bumper crops of corn and wheat this year will stimulate enlargement of herds and more adequate feeding. If city incomes continue high and prices of food do not rise further, cattle-growers can and will enlarge their production and sales as time goes on, until supply catches up with demand. They will make plenty of profit while they are doing so.

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My Impressions of Stalin

by Harold J. Laski

GENERALISSIMO STALIN is, on any showing, an impressive person. The immediate impact he makes is one of shrewdness, quite remarkable patience and a good deal of quiet and sly humor. He asks questions; he reflects with care before he replies to questions. There is, perhaps, a certain unmistakable sense of withdrawal about him, as though he were giving a self to you which is never his ultimate and complete self. He is watchful and reserved. But he can be frank and gay, and no one can be as long with him as was the British Labor Party delegation without the conviction of his capacity to size up men.

I cannot, of course, discuss our conversation in detail; I can give only some of the results at hand upon my own view of his outlook, realizing that I give conclusions without evidence that I feel morally bound to withhold. But I feel certain that these are fair conclusions, since I have turned them over and over again in my mind and see no evidence in my notes which would lead me to change them. Nor do I believe that Stalin is a great actor who was putting on "theatre" for our benefit. On the contrary, I think my colleagues would agree with me that two of his outstanding characteristics are directness and simplicity.

1. In the normal sense of the term, I do not think he can be called a dictator. Powerful, yes; influential, yes; likely to have his views weighed with a care and an eagerness that no one else can rival—that is also true. But he is the leader of a team, the Politbureau, and he must convince the team. He will find criticism there, dissent as well as agreement; and however much there may be a tendency instinctively to go along with him, he can never be really certain that he will win. At least three of his colleagues in the Politbureau come very close to him in the authority they exercise.

2. His anxiety to avoid war is outstanding; he knows the size of the Russian problem. He knows that it is only soluble on the basis of peace. Though he shares the common view of all Russians that there is worldwide hostility to Communist ideals, he really is anxious to find a *modus vivendi* with the West.

3. His main interest is in the internal, rather than the external, scene. There he has thought out with extreme care and precision the questions to be asked. I suspect that, on foreign matters, his outlook is built more on general principles than upon exact knowledge, and that in this field he is more dependent upon the aid of his colleagues than in the Russian field where he can, and does, make direct and independent judgments of his own. In the foreign field, therefore, a good deal of his thinking is conditioned by the quality of the information that reaches him. It is possible to think, without prejudice, that the quality of that information is not as high as it should be.

4. The elasticity of his approach to socialism is far greater than the outside world assumes. He does not think that the Russian method is a universal formula. He realizes quite clearly that it was born of special Russian conditions, and that there are other possible routes to a socialist society. He thinks of them as far less costly if a good deal longer. He realizes quite fully the extreme folly of seeking to impose a Russian pattern on a country whose traditions are unrelated to it. On the other hand, he will not easily be convinced either of the good will of businessmen or of the superior validity of "classical" democracy in its Western parliamentary form as a vehicle through which fundamental change gets itself readily accepted.

THE MAN IN THE KREMLIN

5. He follows an argument with quick discrimination and a swift power to separate the weak parts from the strong. He states his view slowly, but with a quiet confidence of emphasis that is impressive. He rarely raises his voice. There is no rhetoric about his phrasing. When he seeks to drive a point home, his habit seems to be to quote an old Russian proverb as the final expression of its validity. Quite obviously, he has an immense, and even affectionate, regard for the folk-wisdom embodied in these proverbs.

6. He knows a good deal of English history, especially on its trade-union side. He is deeply interested in America, and it is, I think, quite unquestionable that President Roosevelt made a very great impression upon him. He realizes fully the immense resources, especially the technological resources, of the United States and its inherent experimentalism of temper.

7. He has a grave courtesy, and his manner is simple in the extreme. As he talks, he has rarely any expression on his face, though one can tell when there is an inner amusement at what he is saying by the remarkable expressiveness in his eyes. When you speak in reply, he gives you the whole of his attention and watches with care the light and shade in the translator's rendering, putting questions to him so as to be quite sure that he has made out your meaning.

Harold J. Laski, the distinguished political scientist and Laborite, recently visited Russia as the head of a British Labor good-will mission. His delegation was received by Premier Stalin and other Soviet notables. His article is copyright, 1946, by the Overseas News Agency, Inc.

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8. He is not interested so much in the play of mind as he is in the arrangement of things. He has, therefore, more interest in engineers, doctors, architects and so forth than he has in the speculative intellectual. But he is deeply impressed by science and its significance, and the undercurrent of all his thinking is set by the conviction that the government most able to utilize scientific research will be most likely to serve its people.

9. He has no sort of doubt about the urgency of defending the Russian experiment, and that urgency is not merely national. Though I doubt whether he has the cosmopolitan outlook of Lenin, he sees beyond Russia itself to the conviction that socialism is an international idea whose salvation depends upon its ability to obtain international expression.

10. The years of civil war and the years when Russia was treated as a pariah have made a very deep impression on his mind. Those associated, outside Russia, with antagonism to the consolidation of the Revolution are unlikely to win his confidence easily or to retain it except by the proof that they genuinely desire to work with Russia for common ends.

11. He has a deep respect for power as such. The strong state, the strong man, strength in itself, these mean a good deal to him. He likes a hot argument. He does not resent the vivid attack. He can laugh heartily at any blow that touches him neatly. He does not hesitate to hit back with vigor and he watches you quizzically to see the effect of his retorts. There is an ease and elasticity in his conversation which, though it may be built round a frame of unbending principles, is, I think, realistic and sensitive to the currents of opinion of which he is aware.

I say "of which he is aware." The main thing about which I remained uncertain was how much of the stream of thought and ideas outside of Russia penetrates to him through the narrow bottleneck of the Russian Foreign Office. I wondered whether there was enough ease and freedom of intercourse in London and Paris, in Washington and Rome. The technique of communication in international affairs is a very complicated problem. My own suspicion is that the Russian method has maximized the chance of making it dim and misunderstood.

Marx Was Wrong About Depressions

by George Soule

PROBABLY NINE out of every ten Americans believe that there will be a depression after the recent war. Meanwhile editors and business propagandists assure the public that if only this country sticks to private enterprise and abolishes governmental control as rapidly as possible, it will sail along under the fair wind of prosperity.

Americans believe in science. They drink in the latest word from the laboratories about chemistry, medicine, physics. Does science have nothing to say about depression and prosperity?

For a quarter-century the National Bureau of Economic Research, with a large staff of economists and statisticians, has been studying the business cycle under the direction of the chief American authority on that subject, Wesley C. Mitchell. While others have invented theories by the score and have improvised remedies, the Bureau has quietly plodded along with its study of the facts. It has accumulated and carefully analyzed the mountainous piles of statistics for a period of more than a century, and for four nations—the United States, Britain, France and Germany. It has not yet come up out of this musty storehouse with a discovery of cause or remedy. But it has just issued its first major report since Dr. Mitchell published his outline of the problem in 1927.

The magnitude of the task is indicated by the fact that this bulky new volume, with its 560 pages, measuring 7¼ by 11¾ inches, and its multitude of tables and diagrams, is concerned mainly with the methods used in the study, and does not even attempt to state its results. That will be left for future reports. But the book—*Measuring Business Cycles*, by Arthur F. Burns and Wesley C. Mitchell (New York: The National Bureau of Economic Research, $5)—in spite of the superlative scientific caution of the authors, reveals some important facts and conclusions.

There have been 26 complete business cycles in the United States between 1836 and 1938. Their average length, in recent years, has been about 42 months. A business cycle, according to Dr. Mitchell's definition, is a fluctuation of the aggregate economic activity of a nation; it consists of expansions occurring at about the same time in many lines, followed by contractions. The contractions in turn are followed by revivals which merge into the expansion of the next cycle. Thus we are always bouncing up and down on the waves. Though there are periods of relative quiet, there never has been a flat calm in the recorded history of any business-enterprise economy.

A business cycle is defined as the shortest of these up-and-down movements; there may be larger waves or tides, but there is no definite sequence of fluctuations shorter than the business cycle. The cycle is described as "recurrent but not periodic." This means that although it is continually repeated, you cannot

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derive from its history any mathematical formula by which you might predict when the next boom or depression will arrive or how severe it will be. Some cycles are short and others are long; some are extreme in their rises and falls, others are moderate. Cycles of different duration or amplitude do not follow each other in any regular order. What we do know is that if history is repeated there will surely be an expansion after a contraction and a contraction after an expansion.

Are Depressions Getting Worse?

Karl Marx predicted that the commercial crises which always accompany capitalism would become worse as time goes on. Many, after the disastrous experience of the thirties, agree with him. Burns and Mitchell, looking back over the experience of a hundred years, can find no such trend. It is true that the slump beginning in 1929 was unusually severe and unusually long, but there were bad ones in earlier parts of the period studied—in the seventies and nineties, for example. And there have been some relatively short or mild ones in recent years. The authors' judgment on this point is not a mere impression; it is based on the most rigorous and careful statistical analysis.

Financial writers who have reviewed the volume have made much of this conclusion. Few of them, however, have emphasized the twin judgment that there is no support for the theory, widely held in the 1920's and being revived today, that depressions will get milder as time goes on. Burns and Mitchell find no factual support for any long-term trend, either for the worse or for the better. They mention the possibility that a change for the worse occurred about 1914, and admit that it may be true. But they say simply that our experience since that date does not include enough cycles to warrant a conclusion. They do not mention any possibility that since 1914 there has been a change for the better.

The only change which appears in the statistics—and this is of doubtful validity when the experience of other countries is considered—is an apparent reduction of the average duration of the cycle. In the United States between 1854 and 1885 the average business cycle lasted about five years; since 1885 it has lasted about three and a half. But it would not do to apply this conclusion too literally. This *average* length covers wide differences. The variation of the length of the cycle within each period is much greater than the variation between the average of the first period and that of later ones. Between 1854 and 1885 the shortest cycle lasted 30 months and the longest one 99 months. In the most recent period the shortest cycle lasted 29 months and the longest 63. Anyone who attempted to forecast the next boom on the basis of the average length of the cycle would be putting his money on a long shot.

An aid to prediction frequently used is that some kinds of economic activity customarily turn up or down ahead of others. This book confirms that there is a tendency for the turn in the various statistical series to follow in a regular order. Thus, bank clearings outside of New York City usually have already turned upward at the low point of a depression. So have ton-miles of railroad freight, imports and wholesale prices of hide and leather products. Orders for locomotives, freight cars and passenger cars, bank clearings in New York City, number of shares traded in the New York Stock Exchange, the index of common-stock prices and plans filed for new buildings in Manhattan have usually turned downward before the top point of a boom.

What more simple, then, than to look over the current figures and find out whether a change in general business conditions is at hand? It isn't so simple as it seems. For one thing, these leading horses don't always run true to form. Once in a while they will be at the tail instead of out in front, as was the case with the stock market in 1929. Even worse, they often have minor ups and downs during their cyclical expansion or contraction. The tops or bottoms of their curves can be figured out only after they have occurred. If stocks fall for a month, how can you tell whether they are going on down? Or if they recover after a few weeks, does that mean they are going higher than before, or only that an upward jog has occurred in a downward trend? "One expansion in stock prices lasted 84 months, another only five months. . . . In one specific cycle the standing of freight-car orders at the peak was about 40 percent above the cycle average, in another almost 500 percent above."

Are There Other Kinds of Cycles?

Various economists have argued that there are longer cycles of which the short business cycles are like ripples on a tidal wave. Some think there is a 10 or 15-year cycle; Kondratieff finds long waves of fifty or sixty years. The authors of this book had to investigate such theories in order to find out whether long trends had any effect on the short cycle. They found no conclusive proof that such longer cycles exist, though there are irregular upward or downward movements lasting longer than three or five years. But whether longer cycles exist or not, they do not affect the nature of the shorter ones in any noticeable way.

There are fairly well defined cycles in certain specific industries, which do not coincide with the general fluctuations. Thus, there is a cycle of 15 to 20 years in building. All such things of course affect business conditions. But they do not seem to have much influence on the special pattern of the business cycle.

The authors find some basis for one hypothesis regarding a longer "cycle of cycles":

> After a severe depression industrial activity rebounds sharply, but speculation does not. The following contraction in business is mild, which leads people to be less cautious.

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Consequently, in the next two or three cycles, while the cyclical advances become progressively smaller in industrial activity, they become progressively larger in speculative activity. Finally, the speculative boom collapses and a drastic liquidation follows, which ends this cycle of cycles and brings us back to our starting point.

But this hypothesis is advanced only for further study; no simple pattern applies invariably.

The study does substantiate the belief that when the long-term trend of prices is downward, the contraction phase of the cycle is longer, and vice versa.

Can Depressions Be Abolished?

The scientists now leave this question to be judged only by inference. Obviously, since the business cycle is characteristic of business enterprise, it could probably be abolished by substituting some other regime, such as socialism. Within an enterprise economy, booms and depressions are not likely to disappear without more radical changes than have been made during the past hundred years. That century has seen many tremendous alterations in economic institutions. There has been a great expansion of industry accompanied by growth of real income and improvement in productivity. Concentration of economic control has been intensified. Governmental regulations by the score have been adopted. Cities have increased immensely; population growth has begun to taper off. Statistical knowledge and attempts to predict business conditions have proliferated. The art of business management has become advanced; accounting, inventory control and market studies are widely practised. There is no evidence that any of these or other important developments have made business fluctuations better or worse, or have greatly changed their nature. How fatuous, in these circumstances, seems the belief that if only we retain private enterprise without modification we shall be secure!

But the evidence does not prove that the problem is insoluble. There is in the book one tiny ray of hope to which the authors call specific attention. In recent years the swings of interest rates for call money have become smaller. This, they say, is the result of a deliberate policy by the Federal Reserve System. If the nation as a whole consciously employed measures to moderate other and more important fluctuations, it might succeed, provided it knew enough to adopt the right measures.

Liberals and Russia

In the New Republic *of September 16, Max Lerner debated with the Alsop brothers, Joseph and Stewart, about what should be the attitude of American liberals toward Russia. In the two articles below, the debate is continued, the Alsop brothers commenting on Mr. Lerner's first article, and he in turn commenting on their reply.* – THE EDITORS

Why Not Be Russia-Obsessed?

by Joseph and Stewart Alsop

MAX LERNER'S REPLY to our article on the American liberals and the Soviet Union [the *New Republic*, September 16] is an admirably compelling analysis of *one* of the dilemmas of American (and British) foreign policy. All over the world, we are faced with choices, as someone has said, "between the Communists and the sons-of-bitches." Lerner fears our choosing the sons-of-bitches, although he adds parenthetically that we must not choose the Communists either. This would appear to leave only one policy open—which is to construct an alternative to both Communists and sons-of-bitches by measures to promote economic, social and political health wherever our interests are engaged. That is precisely the policy we advocate. We added that the entirely human American people would never support such a policy, which involves great expense and heavy responsibility, unless they were frankly told their self-interest demanded it. Surely Lerner does not disagree. Surely it is a little silly, a little disingenuous, even a little undemocratic, to wish to conceal from the people the obvious fact that Soviet pressure is what gives urgency to this policy.

Here, no doubt, Lerner would object to "Russia-obsession." One is impelled to ask why on earth, in this very doubtful year of grace, American foreign policy should not be "Russia-obsessed." There are few corners of the earth's surface today where excellent reasons for "Russia-obsession" are not plentifully apparent. A policy which is not primarily and continuously aimed at solving the problem of relations with the Soviet Union is a policy which blandly ignores the only really major problem now confronting us. And this is true on every level of political thought and action.

On the lowest level of day-to-day political decision, Lerner apparently wants us to seek a solution of the Palestine problem without giving serious thought to the deep Soviet penetration throughout the Middle East. Let us forget the fairly obvious fact that no solution in Palestine can be reasonably durable until an over-all Middle Eastern solution has been at least agreed upon. Let us stick to Lerner's proposition. An over-hasty solution in Palestine can easily give ultimate victory to the Soviets, in their campaign to capture the Middle East. If that ever happens, Britain will cease to be a major power. If Britain ceases to be a major

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power, there will be no power center left in Europe or Asia capable of resisting Soviet pressure. By the remorseless logic of politics, the Soviets will thereafter achieve dominance throughout Eurasia, and Africa too for that matter—which is no doubt exactly what they want. But is it what we want? Is a hasty and impermanent solution in Palestine really worth the risk of finding ourselves in a position where we, in our turn, would have to choose between fighting or knuckling under?

On the intermediate level of broad policy objectives, a similar dilemma confronts us. Brooks Atkinson has said, in effect, that Soviet policy is animated by a passion for security, but that the Soviet leaders will never feel secure so long as the United States and Britain are dominant powers. The facts of the international situation, unless one prefers to ignore or gloze them over, appear to support this view. Are we to ignore this and adopt the bankrupt's rule of hoping for the best and not preparing for the worst?

And on the highest of all levels, that of essential political concept, the unsoundness of Lerner's position is more apparent than anywhere else. If there is a single truth that the last war has taught us, it is that the world must unite or be destroyed. The truth was grimly underlined by the explosions at Hiroshima and Nagasaki. In the entire period since the end of the war, the central objective of American policy has been to achieve world unity. For this purpose, all reasonable concessions (and some that were a little shocking) were offered to the Soviet Union in the months before the Iranian crisis. For this purpose, the superb Acheson-Lilienthal-Oppenheimer plan for atomic-energy control was prepared, was adopted as the official American proposal, and was offered to the world. Our concessions went for nothing. Our plan for control of atomic energy, first joyfully hailed and then apparently forgotten by every pro-Soviet liberal in the United States, was almost contemptuously rejected. The USSR embarked on a course of crass, self-centered imperialism.

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"He's from some Washington committee. He's been tipped off that the town is full of Reds."

Thus we were forced—reluctantly and unhappily, as everyone must realize who knows James F. Byrnes—to try a new tack toward world unity. Our purpose now is to convince the Soviet leaders that persistence in their present course will be both impractical and painful to them, and thus to induce them to change. Only a drastic change in Soviet political strategy can open the way to understanding and world unity. Such is American policy, "Russia-obsessed" no doubt, but at least better than the alternatives of self-delusion, surrender or preventive war.

A Positive Plan for Peace

by Max Lerner

THE ALSOPS ASK, "Why not be Russia-obsessed?" My direct answer to that is: because such an obsession is bound to shatter the peace, not cement it. The current obsession with Russia and with both her real and her fancied diplomatic pressures is close to a national psychosis: just as the Russian obsession with America, and with both her real and her fancied moves toward "capitalist encirclement," is close to a national psychosis. I need not add that in the case of world peace, just as in the case of individual peace of mind, psychoses lead not to health but to breakdown and the agony of war.

What we need most badly in America is a body of opinion which rejects the policy of an anti-Comintern drive just as drastically as it rejects the policy of using Russia's national interests as a yardstick of American action. We need a central body of opinion which will make both of the others merely the fringe-extremists. We need, in short, not merely freedom from the two types of Russia-obsessiveness, but an affirmative policy.

At this point the Alsops seem to say that they too favor an affirmative policy—"measures to promote economic, social and political health wherever our interests are engaged." Fine, but the key question becomes: how shall we get such measures? From what I can make out—both in their original piece and in their current answer—they seem to envisage our playing a sort of imperialist Santa Claus who will bring these blessings to the benighted peoples by the *noblesse oblige* of the world's most powerful nation. This is the "American century" with a vengeance. A policy that offers only that is a pretty bankrupt imitation of liberalism.

My own position is that we can help lift the living standards and the social health of the world's troubled areas only by helping the genuine democrats of those areas to assume the leadership of their own countries.

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That was the whole burden of my original piece. I did not deal there, whatever the Alsops may say, with "only *one* of the dilemmas of American (and British) foreign policy." I dealt with the theme which is the heart of the whole problem of our foreign policy: the fact that our all-out diplomatic drive against Russia and our obsession with Russia have compelled us to throw our lot in with the men whom the Alsops themselves call "the sons-of-bitches." Evidently they have no answer to the central point I made. Once you start with the position that you must in every trouble area build up a *cordon sanitaire* against Russian influence, the "sons-of-bitches" are obviously the easiest and most logical people to use for that purpose—the Francos, the King Georges of Greece and their Tsaldarises, the Grand Muftis of Jerusalem and their attendant Arab chieftains, the General Anderses among the Poles, even the Perons of Latin America. The Alsops are men of good will and they squirm under the logic of this—but the logic is there.

Is it really true that our only choice is "between the Communists and the sons-of-bitches?" If it is, then we had better abandon the effort at peace right now, and turn the world back to the maggots that are waiting to claim it.

No, that is a cruelly narrow and fatal choice. There is a third group that the Alsops seem conveniently to have forgotten. I mean the left-of-center groups in each country who are committed both to economic socialism *and* to political democracy. Is it impossible for a socialist Britain, a liberal democratic America and a communist Russia to find common ground in such groups? I think not. If it were not for the outer framework of tensions between the great powers, then Bidault and Blum and Thorez could perfectly well continue to build on the common ground they have already found: it is only these outer tensions that give de Gaulle his certainty that a war will soon break out and he will be called to the helm as the man of destiny. If it were not for the great-power tensions, a Giral caretaker government could regain power in Spain. In Palestine the strongest movement is that of the social-democratic Jewish workers and farm-pioneers, and their potential allies are the Arab masses as distinguished from the feudal potentates.

What a world of cynicism is concealed in the Alsops' statement that "the American people never would support" a policy of social improvement unless it were sold to them as an urgent way to meet Russian pressures. Why not tell the American people the truth?—that it is the need for world peace that gives urgency to supporting the democratic left-of-center groups who can establish order and get their economies to work and bridge the differences between American and Soviet ideologies. To try to get the American Century type of intervention by whipping up anti-Russian passions here at home is quite simply suicidal. For if you help create

Fitzpatrick in the St. Louis Post-Dispatch

Little Man's Latest Masterpieces

such passions—for whatever plausible reasons—you end by creating the material out of which a preventive war against Russia will seem to become more and more the logical course from a nationalist point of view.

"The world must unite," yes. But world unity will only be a by-product of the solutions I have suggested in the world's trouble areas. The real "self-delusion" is to think you can get world unity by helping the sons-of-bitches. The real "surrender" is to the drift toward war. The real madness is to serve as innocent purveyors of the passions that can only be used by those who hate not only Russian communism but American liberal democracy as well.

Elegy for the Man of the World

Well-groomed, you graced the proper places in the proper season
Sitting for hours under acacia leaves and Mediterranean sun
Mixing aperitif with epigram and carefully worn ennui,
But the conversation is ended now and the proper proper world is done
Expensive faces that gathered at the tables like perennial flowers,
Year after year in remembered elegance, will gather here no more
Many are dead, and strangers sit at the tables on the terraces;
The seats are filled, and alien waves make stranger music on the shore.
Travelers who traveled once must travel onward of necessity,
Albeit in bitter silence, stung with nostalgia for leisure wit;
Onward, Odysseus, from place to time but never loitering,
For there is no room at the best hotels; in all the world no place to sit.

FREDERICK EBRIGHT

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UN Observer

WATCHING the recent proceedings of the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council, this reporter wonders whether the United Nations might not profitably undertake some extensive research into the whole ancient problem of how men can reach agreement among themselves on a common policy or line of action. The present UN methods and techniques are the product of several centuries of development in international intercourse, painfully evolved over hundreds of conferences and meetings. They are hallowed with the sacrosanctity of diplomatic tradition. But there still seems to be lots of room for improvement. It may even be that a research program might produce a new and better approach.

This bit of wishful thinking is the outcome of four weeks of patient observation of the Economic and Social Council, which in 21 plenary sessions and any number of subordinate meetings failed to reach constructive agreement on practically everything of importance on its agenda. The two major practical problems before it were to devise measures for the care and resettlement of refugees and displaced persons in Europe and Asia, and to find ways in which the UN could assist economic reconstruction of the war-devastated countries. On refugees it eventually decided to pass on to the General Assembly for approval and action a draft constitution for the projected International Refugees' Organization, but only over the objections of the Soviet, Ukrainian and Yugoslav delegations.

On the economic reconstruction of the war-devastated countries the Council had the assistance of the exhaustive report of its subcommission. The key recommendation of that report was the creation of an over-all Economic Commission for Europe. For days in committees and subcommittees the American and British delegations supported the Western European countries, wrestled vainly with the Soviet delegates, who seemed to object to the report and its recommendations in toto. Finally, the best the Council could do was to send the Assembly a milk-and-water resolution and defer discussion of a European Economic Commission to its next session.

On the only other question of immediate practical importance on the Council's agenda—the freeing of navigation and commerce on the Danube—it passed by a bare majority an American resolution recommending the calling of a conference on the whole question at Vienna on November 1. At this the Soviet delegate retorted that the Council's decision "could not be obligatory" upon member states, thus strongly suggesting that if such a conference is held the Soviet Union will boycott it. Since all the Danubian states are either Soviet satellites or ex-enemy states under Soviet occupation, the prospects for holding the conference don't look very good.

The traditional machinery incorporated in the UN seems to have stripped its gears. Is there a mechanic in the house?

Lake Success EDWARD MONTGOMERY

Radio: Selling Ideas

IN THE PAST when radio approached the problem of presenting democratic ideas, it fell to its lowest Hooper rating. Over the air, liberal programs were aimed at small groups, intellectuals and other "queers." They were $10 editions, not 25-cent reprints. Not many people listened.

The hustling huckster, trying to sell his soap or his cigarettes, learned long ago that he must reach a mass market. The outstanding fact for the liberal in 1946 ought to be that radio, low as some of its standards are, is one of the greatest mass-communication media.

By trying to fight a twentieth-century fight with eighteenth-century weapons, groups that are leading the campaign for democratic ideas have frightened off the practical people in radio. Successful program directors, announcers, commentators and comedians know one thing well—how to reach people. They know that a fifteen-minute speech will reach comparatively few, while "Pepsi-Cola Hits the Spot," for thirty seconds, influences the spending habits of thousands. But, given a choice, most democratic groups who want to take their message to the air waves will ask for fifteen minutes to have someone make a speech.

Unfortunately, many of the practical people in radio, out of respect for the sincerity and intelligence of the liberals, have deferred to their judgment on how to sell their ideas. Much of the blame for radio's ineffectiveness in putting across new ideas rests with the liberal groups which have overlooked radio's successful techniques.

As a result, people in radio have mistakenly felt that they have done their job by treating cultural, liberal, democratic subjects with respect and almost reverence, though usually it isn't respect, but pernicious snobbery. People in radio tell themselves that they have done right by the public and democracy by presenting the material in small, dull doses and in awestruck tones. It looks good on paper, but it doesn't sound good over the air, and it pretty much preaches to the converted.

In order to get the people in radio to apply their successful selling techniques to the Bill of Rights, the liberals will have to stop sneering at the 30-second singing commercial, the Ma Perkins daytime serial, and learn to use them. The few with superior education and intellectual tastes may not listen, but millions will.

Get Fred Allen to blacken the KKK with his satire; the Lone Ranger to sell tolerance around a campfire with the rustlers just over the hill; Superman and Dick Tracy actively plugging the United Nations. Get that, and you will reach the kids, the truck drivers, the housewives and the sport fans who make up this democracy, whose votes make up a majority. FDR made radio his most dependable means of reaching the people. Your sponsor is there, just as his was—the audience of America. They'll listen to your ideas, but not if you preach over their heads. If you do that, they'll keep switching the dial to another station.

TED COTT

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An American Show

THE REVIEW OF American painting and sculpture at the Museum of Modern Art, a group of small one-man shows by fourteen artists whom the museum considers to have done outstanding work in 1946, exhibits characteristics that usually appear in American art—repression, lack of arrogance, limited display of emotion, picayunishness, sternness and sobriety. Most of the pieces carefully avoid crude, spontaneous or troubling notes. There is so much restraint of feeling, so much impersonality, so much coldness and emphasis on technique that you are made uneasy and nervous by all the quiet, regulated creativity.

The one robust artist, Saul Steinberg, who does the scratchy, space-devouring cartoons in the *New Yorker*, uses the medium so easily and inventively that he only makes the show's general dryness more striking. Robert Motherwell works a little more ruggedly than the others, who seem like painting spinsters. They include David Aronson (23 years old and the youngest, whose painting is that of the typical art-school virtuoso), Isamu Noguchi (his sculpture is demountable and reminds me of the song, "Stone Cold Dead in the Market"), Ben C. Culwell (a Texan who did his tormented war paintings while on sea duty in the South Pacific), David Hare, Loren MacIver (one of the three women artists, all of them hard, cold painters), Mark Tobey, Alton Pickens, Theodore J. Roszak, Honoré Sharrer (who says it takes her a year to use up one tube of Rembrandt cadmium red), Arshile Gorky (a very eclectic painter who achieves qualities reminiscent of those in an Ingres drawing), I. Rice Pereira, C. S. Price (his "Fisherman" has exaltation and a structural beauty that is equaled by only one or two other works in this exhibit), and George Tooker.

While puritanism and concentration on technique have always marked American exhibits and play a similar part in "Fourteen Americans," you seldom see a group show like this, in which each artist has hammered out such an individual style, sticks so relentlessly to his particular mannerisms, limits the power of his work by just this dogged stylization. Where style becomes so emphasized, spontaneity goes out. You find yourself noticing that an artist clings compulsively to one texture or to one manner of making a shape though his work seems to shriek for some contrast. That occurs in almost every exhibit of "Fourteen Americans," with the exception of Gorky, Motherwell, and Hare's sculptures. If this individual stylization indicates anything it is the American artist's tendency to isolate himself from other artists. American painters are lone wolves who fear to lose their individuality by working together and trading ideas. A curious note in "Fourteen Americans" is the evenness in quality of all the shows, a characteristic that generally turns up where artists cut themselves off from each other and where there is no influence on one by another.

The stylization and isolationism that mark this show appear in the first room, where the C. S. Price paintings give a strong sense of the solitary, of an artist expressing the felt nature of an environment rather than his own more chaotic, conflicting feelings. Price's art seems only half as exciting as it might be with less cleaving to a style which is made up of blurred, memory-laden subject matter, rubbery textures and dull earthy color that gives a sense of cattle country, and usually static, trite composition. Mark Tobey also makes use of a complete set of techniques: one, a writing like an excited version of the kind in Parker Pen ads (meant to show introspective feeling); another, his composing, which consists of a dense mat of this magic handwriting. While his paintings have a restrained sensuousness and show more sensibility than most of the works in this collection, they are simplified into dullness by the adherence to style. You feel the artist is purposely gagging himself.

One characteristic for judging how much the painting means to the artist and how much authentic feeling goes into a work is the way paint is brushed, in the quality of the surface. You can tell immediately from the way the surface is worked just how pleasurable painting is to the artist, how thoroughly he has painted himself out, how hard was his problem. It is almost impossible to look at Pereira's abstractions (which resemble blueprints for the most conservative housing) because the paint is put on so tightly and with so little rhythm, though the order she somehow achieves out of such a mishmash of dinky rectangles and lines is impressive in a disquieting way. Alton Pickens paints tragic scenes of aged children, cruelty, wasted bodies, enduring, brutalized people, but at the same time creates an anemic, weak surface in which the paint seems to have been squirted onto the canvas with an eyedropper. There is more toughness in his painting of "The Blue Doll," and it is immeasurably better than his other pieces. Motherwell paints with unusual vitality and enjoyment, but he doesn't often paint his pictures through and the surface takes on a vacant quality. The average painting in this show indicates little love for pushing paint around and for experimenting with the surface.

The Steinberg drawings stand out because of their lack of restraint and the fact that they indicate so much joy by the artist in his work. His tireless, uninhibited line is that of a dogmatic, blissful, far from subtle person. Without trying much, he composes well. He loves to dress his subject matter to the teeth, whether it is a birdcage with tassels, a bomber over Cassino that is as chi-chi as a dandy strutting down Park Avenue, a hen with a feather coating that looks more like a fur coat. His best work is a 50-foot scroll drawing showing how ornate government architecture covers a city in all directions, into the earth as well as over it. Like the other thirteen, Steinberg has his mannerisms, the funniest being a slapstick attitude toward perspective.

MANNY FARBER

The Bandwagon

GREEKS CHEER RETURNING KING;
GUARD AGAINST ASSASSINATION
—*Headline in the Los Angeles* Daily News.

I just can't understand how a paper of your standing can stoop to make disparaging references to a man's physical makeup. Tom Dewey did not have anything to say as to how tall he would be, but he did go from the little town of Owosso to the governorship of New York State on his own. Since when is five feet eight inches considered tiny? I am five feet eight inches. —*From a letter to the editor in the Chicago* Tribune.

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Eh?

The slogans, the irritational devices, the technique of unending repetition that have expanded consumption of cigarettes to astronomical totals, can be used with equal efficacy to increase consumer demands for other products and services. Through this process, consumers are induced to buy an ever wider variety of goods, which is another way of saying that standards of living are raised to new high levels. – *From an editorial on George Washington Hill in the* Journal of Commerce.

Government Interference

For some months a tribe of Indians called the Chavantes, whose existence was never before known, has threatened the advanced parties. A Brazilian law which prohibits shooting at these natives has made the contacts with them extremely hazardous and difficult. – *From the Flint (Michigan)* Journal.

Let 'Em Eat Cake Department

Turkey, chicken, fish and eggs, properly rotated, make a pretty satisfactory diet. Maybe we're overemphasizing our so-called meat shortage. – *From Cedric Adams' column in the Minneapolis* Tribune.

Our readers are invited to contribute to this column; $1 will be paid for each item used. Address Bandwagon, care of the New Republic. *Please enclose the original clipping.* – THE EDITORS

Correspondence

Wasted Manpower

SIR: Few Americans realize that in this country there are some 28 million persons handicapped to some extent by disease, accident or as a result of war. Each year approximately 350,000 are permanently disabled by accidents alone.

This country faces a dual problem with respect to its millions of handicapped men and women:

1. To extend the necessary rehabilitation service to those handicapped who require it in order to put their abilities to the best use.

2. To provide suitable employment for the handicapped who are ready and able to take useful jobs.

The United States Employment Service reveals there is a startling need for an increased employer acceptance of the disabled veteran's ability as a capable worker. In February, 1946, for every 34 disabled veterans recorded on the active list of job applicants, only one was placed in a job. As late as June, despite greater emphasis on the part of interested private and government agencies, only one out of every 21 disabled veterans applying for jobs was placed. Disabled-veteran placements constituted but five percent of total disabled-veteran applicants, in striking contrast to placements of 21 percent for other applicants.

There are no financial yardsticks to measure the differences between a self-reliant citizen carrying his own responsibilities and a depressed citizen dependent upon charity. Those differences, however, mean more than dollars and cents in terms of happiness, good citizenship and social usefulness. Complete use of our manpower is—and will remain—a human problem of serious import to the welfare of the nation.

G. B. ERSKINE, Major General, USMC Administrator,
Retraining and Reëmployment, Department of Labor
Washington, D. C.

A Chinese Student Appeal

SIR: We, a group of Chinese students at a leading American university, appeal in deep earnest to you, the American people, to urge your government to withdraw immediately the American armed forces from China and to withhold any military or financial aid until a democratic coalition government is established in China.

Since V-J Day, the United States has trained and equipped 40 divisions of Kuomintang troops, while only 20 divisions were trained and equipped during the entire period of war with Japan. The United States, from the end of war to the end of 1945, supplied the Kuomintang government with more than $600 million worth of lend-lease war materials. The United States has been selling to the Kuomintang government vast quantities of surplus war materials, which in the India-Burma theatre alone have already amounted to over $500 million in value, including 700 airplanes. The United States has been using the American armed forces to guard railroads, harbors and other strategic positions for the Kuomintang government. And now the China military-assistance bill before the United States Congress, if passed, would openly provide military advice and assistance to the Kuomintang government.

We do not venture to speculate on the motives underlying this present American policy in China. But we do know what the effect is: to plunge China into a bloody civil war and to destroy any hope for a democratic reorganization of the Chinese government. We believe that this is not the intention of the American people. We appeal, therefore, directly to you, the American public, to exercise every possible pressure at your command to reverse such a policy.

The Chinese people have suffered long enough from war. We hope that they will not again be placed under the continuous misery and turmoil of another civil war.

We appeal to you, the American people!

Somewhere in the USA SEVENTEEN CHINESE STUDENTS

Alfred Stieglitz

SIR: Since I am now preparing a special issue of *Twice a Year*, to be devoted to Alfred Stieglitz, America's foremost photographer and pioneer in introducing modern art to America, who died July 13, 1946, I am desirous of including those of his letters or passages therefrom that might be of general interest. I would like to assure those of your readers who might be kind enough to lend us letters that all material received will be carefully respected and returned at the earliest possible moment. The address is 509 Madison Avenue, New York 17.

New York City DOROTHY NORMAN

From The New Republic Mail Bag

Dolph Weinbrenner, Information Director of the Southern California Committee for Fair Employment Practices, informs us that an initiative proposition for a Fair Employment Practices Act has been placed on the California ballot for November as a result of petitions signed by 300,000 voters. The measure has widespread endorsement, but funds are needed to inform the mass of voters about the FEPC initiative. Our readers are asked to help the Committee, Room 911, Spring-Arcade Building, Los Angeles 13.

Our New York readers may be interested to attend this year's series of six Lectures to the Laity at the New York Academy of Medicine, 2 East 103rd Street, New York. The theme of the lectures is Medicine in the Postwar World. They will be held on October 31, November 14, December 12, January 9, January 23 and February 13 at 8:30 p.m.

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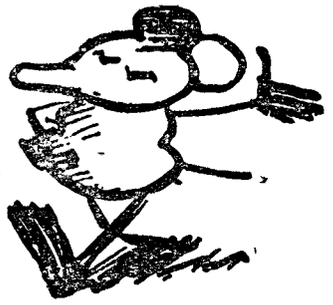
Books in Review



Americana

OBVIOUSLY nothing could be more American than the writing of Ring Lardner and Don Marquis and the drawing of George Herriman. Such a critical commonplace is unavoidable as one thumbs through the three volumes, published almost simultaneously and each containing what its editor considers the best and most representative work of his man. Despite differences in temperament, species and medium in which they are portrayed, Lardner's ball players and song writers, Marquis' rumhounds and prophets and Herriman's cat and mouse are so obviously fellow countrymen of the same generation that comparison of their creators is almost inescapable. The temptation is not lessened by Gilbert Seldes, who edited *The Portable Lardner*, and Christopher Morley, who wrote the introduction to *The Best of Don Marquis*, when each compares his particular hero, inevitably, to Mark Twain.

E. E. Cummings, who did the Herriman introduction, has no time for any thought of Mark Twain; he is far too busy expelling the "spineless progressive" from the ranks of the Krazy Kat fans. I found Mr. Cummings' strangely irate commentary on the world of Krazy, Ignatz Mouse and Offissa Pupp the low point of the three books, and that seems to me unfortunate, since it is my dismal suspicion that an entire volume of the saga of Krazy Kat needs all the help it can get. The virtues of the famous Herriman strip are still there: the whimsical imagination, the quiet fantasy, those wonderful shifting backgrounds, the quiet gentleness which pervaded even the brick-throwing. Yet there is also a growing monotony which, in the end, forces me to admit that I have greater admiration for such upstart comic strips as Blondie, Penny and Barnaby (at least in the days when Crockett Johnston was doing it).

On the whole, Don Marquis is still excellent reading. Hermione's serious thinkers no longer seem very amusing, the thoughts on the Almost Perfect State are not so biting as they once appeared, and I could do with a minimum of the Old Soak's history of the world and perhaps one less of mehitabel's "dance in the old girl" routines. Nevertheless the Marquis virtues are notable for a number of reasons, only one of which has to do with his value as historian of the revolt against prohibition and puritan domination that seethed deep down in rebellious spirits in the early days of the Great Experiment. Such creations as the Old Soak, archy and mehitabel (whatever became of Captain Peter Fitzurse?) continue to live in the imagination; such stories as "Country Doctor" and "God, the Devil and Old Man Murtrie" have authentic merit; his song of "Noah an' Jonah an' Cap'n John Smith" has true warmth of humor, and, above all, there was something in his brooding, hot-blooded, gay and tortured spirit that gave what he had to say a fierce kind of laughter that could be vastly impressive.

With all proper respect to Don Marquis and, in a lesser degree, to Herriman, there can be no doubt that in passing to Lardner we are turning to a man of far greater stature. There is something curious about the current status of Ring Lardner in American letters. He is, Seldes notes, "generally known as an American humorist who wrote in slang about baseball," and he adds that "it would be hard to pack any more misleading ideas into a single statement, especially since every word in it is true"; but this is not why his standing is so unusual. In fact, Mr. Seldes' own statement must be at least elaborated. While he is no doubt correct about the way in which Lardner is "generally known," is is also true that a great proportion of his readers during his lifetime and today have realized that he was far more than that: that he was one of the most bitter and misanthropic writers since Swift. Oddly enough, the bitterness attributed to Lardner is probably the only generality about him that does not have to be surrounded with modifying clauses. He *was* a bitter writer.

The other generalities have a way of becoming paradoxes when closely examined. Ring Lardner was a savage critic of mankind disguised as a verbal buffoon; yet even during his lifetime his non-critical readers recognized in him such a critic. The ferocity with which he regarded mankind certainly indicated that he disliked people violently; yet everyone who knew him seems to have worshiped him. He wrote for a large audience; yet he never compromised by the slightest resort to popular sentiment in his stories, and his audiences were crazy about them. It was believed by his admirers during his lifetime that he was ignored by the generality of criticism; yet the criticism of his day passed on to the present day the knowledge that he was an important man of letters. One of the first critics to appreciate him was H. L. Mencken; yet Mencken believed that his stories wouldn't last because posterity wouldn't know what they were about.

It must be in part due to the influence Mencken still exerts in American literary affairs that Lardner's status is what it is today. Because we have instinctively accepted what the ablest of his advocates said, Ring Lardner is

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currently regarded as a first-rank writer by people who have read very little of him, or read him so long ago that they have subconsciously tended to take it for granted that stories about baseball players, prize fighters and song writers of the twenties are going to be a little outmoded in language and characterization two decades later. Therefore Lardner's standing today is that of a distinguished and important figure in American letters and his qualities are properly appreciated; yet his admirers are looking forward with some trepidation to reading him now, lest they find something of the spell is gone. It strikes me that such skepticism is the best thing possible for the author's reputation, since, when the work in *The Portable Lardner* has been read, it will be found that our fears were groundless.

In fact, of all the material in the book only the radio criticism seems a waste of time, and its strange puritanism made it disappointing when it was written. Again it is clear that "Some Like Them Cold" and "The Golden Honeymoon" are among the finest short stories written in this country; that "You Know Me Al" is just as funny and as devastating as it was when it came out; that "The Big Town," which I had forgotten, is one of its author's most characteristic works, and that such tales as "The Young Immigrunts," "Gullible's Travels" and "Alibi Ike" hold up astonishingly. So does the ferocious "Champion." The famous baseball sketch, "The Bull Pen," in which Will Rogers and Andrew Toombes were hilarious in a "Ziegfeld Follies" of many years ago, is not quite as wonderful as memory has made it, but it is still good. I would scold Mr. Seldes as editor only for his incomprehensible failure to include the superb "Tridget of Greva" among the nonsense playlets.

A rereading of Lardner indicates clearly why he was so deservedly successful from both a popular and critical point of view. Chiefly, he had a remarkable gift for being both funny and savage at the same time, without letting either quality interfere with the other. Jack Keefe, "the busher," is not only obnoxious but prodigiously comic, but the thing about him is that it is not his obnoxiousness which is comic. The fun arises from his fatuous and abysmal ignorance about himself, and thus it is possible for him to be a figure of comedy for one reason and of social criticism for quite another. As for the famous Lardner ear for the American language, it continues to be both scientifically accurate and the stuff of laughter. To those who used to lament that so talented an author wasted himself on such ephemeral figures as ball players, theatrical producers and Tin Pan Alley denizens, the reply can now be more emphatic than ever that the sardonic way in which he used such insects to observe and pillory humanity in general proved that his limitation of material certainly did not keep him from being an American writer of permanent distinction.

RICHARD WATTS JR.

The Portable Ring Lardner *is published by the Viking Press, $2;* The Best of Don Marquis *is published by Doubleday and Company, $3. Henry Holt and Company, the publishers of* Krazy Kat *($3.75), have given permission to reproduce the drawings on the preceding page.*
—THE EDITORS

STUART CHASE
sums up our chances of holding on to what we have and getting what we need.

FOR THIS WE FOUGHT

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The History of the Bomb

Dawn Over Zero, by William L. Laurence. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 292 pages. $3.

THE DIRECTIONS taken by scientific research are often determined by factors which have little or no relation to social needs. The restricting terms of the bequest of a shoe manufacturer may dictate the subjects of investigation to which highly trained men devote long periods of their activity. For the individual scientist the seeking may be more exciting than the end he seeks and the circumstances attendant on his work may be of greater moment to him than the needs of society: it is far more pleasant to work under a generous endowment with the beneficent (and academically rewarding) support of the department head than to struggle alone and under financial stringency. So there is often needless duplication plus the accumulation of data uncoördinated with the studies of other workers, and vital investigations may languish for lack of funds while subjects of lesser importance are heavily endowed.

We can ill afford such planlessness in science, and war —one of the greatest crises to which a social system is exposed—demonstrates the need for scientific research to be planned, coöperative and efficient. It shows, too, the potentially tremendous return from a relatively modest investment in research and it emphasizes the point that such investments cannot be left to the chance philanthropy of even the well intentioned. That the first great result of such large-scale planning and subsidization of research

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was the atomic bomb is perhaps ironic, but it should awaken us to the rewards which lie in planned research for progress.

This book by William L. Laurence, New York *Times* correspondent and Pulitzer Prize-winner, is a clearly written story of the atomic bomb from theory to blast. Among other things it shows that the development of the bomb was a truly coöperative effort of unprecedented dimensions. Nationals (or, better, internationals) of almost every major European country and the top-flight nuclear physicists of Britain, Canada and the United States joined in its development. Laurence's book begins with a description of the New Mexico test, gingerly guides the reader through the necessary technical background, the building of the early chain-reacting atomic piles, the techniques for producing the raw materials, the construction of the bomb itself and, finally, describes the blasts over Hiroshima and Nagasaki, the last of which he witnessed (his description of it received the Pulitzer Prize). There is an exciting account of the sabotage by Norwegian patriots flown in from Britain of the heavy-water plant in Norway which produced the moderator required by the Germans for the bomb on which they were working. There are reasonable deductions as to the size and power of the bomb, and estimates of the feasibility of using the radioactive material available to us as a source of peacetime power. The writing is lucid throughout and at times the narrative achieves a high degree of suspense. For the development of the bomb was, to those working on it, a race against time. They knew that German physicists were engaged in the same task, but they did not know how much sand remained in the hourglass.

Seen in its entirety, the story should sound one note of hope: if such a planned, governmentally financed program of research and development can accelerate the march of science for destruction, why not for life? The fission of the atomic nucleus has shown the scientist that politics is too important to be trusted to the politicians. Now the citizen must discover that the functions of science are too important to be left to the chance philanthropies of the wealthy, the profit-motivated interests of industry or even to the uncoördinated inclinations of the scientists, however well intentioned we know them to be. MILTON MAZER

Old Bones Rattled

Assize of Arms, by J. H. Morgan. New York: Oxford University Press. 357 pages. $3.50.

DISTURBING is the word—trite though it seems—for *Assize of Arms*, by Brigadier General J. H. Morgan, K.C., D.L. For General Morgan, in an interesting and well told narrative of his personal experiences as a member of the abortive Allied Control Commission which after World War I was to disarm Germany, gives us food for thought on the future of Germany after World War II.

The book is a "must" for those seeking background on today's international situation. It is not pleasant reading. The calculated deceit and well planned machinations of the German General Staff, the renaissance of army control under General Hans von Seeckt—"the Sphinx with the eye-glass"—are plainly set down.

LABOR AND THE LAW

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Professor of Law, University of Chicago

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Those few of our own Regular Army officers who in the early thirties attended the then forbidden *Kriegsakademie* in Berlin—where the Wehrmacht general staff wore mufti to its clandestine sessions—can bear witness to Morgan's estimate of the German officer corps and of its responsibility for the next war. The Inter-Allied Military Control Commission, composed of French and British officers—isolationist United States was not represented—found itself at once involved in a welter of chicanery which soon turned to outright defiance accompanied by insult and at times by bodily violence.

The author carries one with him from his departure for Berlin in September, 1919, through the Kapp *Putsch*, which he describes as an army revolt; the Weimar Republic, Hindenburg and the advent of Hitler, to January of 1927, when the Commission was finally withdrawn as a result of the Locarno Pact. Following her military collapse, Germany, then as now, became a slough of despond in which violence and vice bubbled viscidly. Then as now, there was cunning and active propaganda on behalf of the starving "good" Germans; that Allied nations were also starving was forgotten. Then as now, large groups of people in the Western world were predisposed to the rebirth of a strong German nation as a buffer against the spectre of communism. On these things, says Morgan, the German officer corps battened, nurtured its crop of fat industrialists, fostered Hitler and again prepared for conquest.

The difference between the two periods was of course that to all intents and purposes Germany at that time was still a nation; not a pie cut in four pieces, each forked by one of her conquerors. But, bearing in mind the closer coordination of the British and American zones today, the iron line of demarcation between the Soviet zone and the other three, and the race to groom—or drub—resident Germans in each segment into clashing ideologies, Morgan's analysis of the German people is well worth reading. The leopard—and Morgan likens Germany to a cheetah—does not change his spots. So, as the postwar Germany of yesterday is dragged dripping out of its slime by Morgan, the reader cannot help wondering what form of monster may now be gestating in what was once the Third Reich.

Morgan makes no bones of his dislike for the Germans. He feels they cannot understand kindness, recognize only force. No professional soldier—he was a barrister commissioned in the legal side of the British army in World War I—he yet had opportunity to see the German in action in 1914-18, both in the field and as vice-chairman of the British government's Committee of Enquiry into War Crimes.

"Hitler," he says, "was the docile pupil of the German Officers' Corps." He sees no difference between the German atrocities of both wars; "Ludendorf slew," he continues, "in cold blood, his thousands, Hitler his tens of thousands. . . . The policy itself is the same."

The cure for all this?

"We must either abolish the German nation or abolish the German army." The nation itself, argues Morgan, is "the artificial creation of the Prussian army." With the Wehrmacht gone, he feels that the German peoples might break up into their component parts.

Well, the Allies today are trying to break up Germany's ability to make war. They have gone far along that road; further than they did before. But if you want to know why they failed the first time, read *Assize of Arms* and draw your own conclusions.

R. ERNEST DUPUY

That "Incredible Elephant"

Bevin of Britain, by Trevor Evans. New York: W. W. Norton and Company. 282 pages. $3.

THE YEAR-LONG honeymoon from which Great Britain's Labor Government recently emerged was a stormy period for every laborite statesman in England. Early hopes that Labor would promptly solve all of Britain's external and internal difficulties dimmed as the Socialist government faced up to the grim realities of a peace that is no peace. Roughest passage of all was experienced by Foreign Minister Ernest Bevin. And yet this writer, during his stay in England the past summer, found Bevin still the most respected and trusted member of the government

Bevin has had his black moments. Many were his own fault. He is a willful, headstrong man with a violent tongue. He often says more than he means, and much, much more than a top diplomat should permit himself to say. His unfortunate reference (during the Bournemouth party conference last summer) to the role New York Jews were allegedly playing in the Palestine affair caused repercussions not only throughout Jewry but in the ordinary homes of England. Britishers shook their heads and wondered if Ernie had at last managed to saw off that limb he'd been balancing on all year. And indeed a few weeks later when Bevin's illness kept him temporarily away from the Paris conference, it did look as though his Whitehall days were numbered. But ordinary men and pundits alike were wrong. Bevin had really been ill. As soon as he recovered, he hotfooted it back to the old Luxembourg Palace again.

Bevin, one of the world's most controversial figures, is tactless, frequently to the point of rudeness. He is often swayed by personal prejudices and emotions. But he is overwhelmingly and, when you meet him, disarmingly sincere. His career as one of the really great trade unionists of labor history reveals strikingly that here is a man who early decided what his goal in life would be and who, thereafter, battered and bludgeoned his way with never a backward look. The bright, ironical gods of history often played tricks on him, but even the gods were a bit intimidated when Bevin went ahead despite them. The efforts of the Communists to brand Bevin an arch-reactionary and the Number One foe of the working classes is a case in point. But go to the workers themselves (as I did in England and France) and ask their honest opinion as to which man, Bevin or, say, Molotov is closer to the average laborer. They will answer, as did a machinist in the Paris "red belt" to me this summer: "*Cet incroyable elephant de Londres.*" Years of fighting for Labor all over the world have burned Bevin's name deep in the hearts of millions of trade unionists

Trevor Evans, Labor Editor of the *Daily Express*, has written a complete and honest life of "the incredible ele-

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phant of London." The first full-length biography of its subject, it represents a thorough and able job of research and reporting by an experienced journalist who has been close to Bevin for many years. *Bevin of Britain* also represents a judicious commentary on the British labor movement in the last two generations and, as such, sheds light on a subject little understood and appreciated by the general public here in America.

If I have any criticism of Evans' work, it is that the prose itself is too crisp, too matter-of-fact, too much like good newspaper prose. In any book on a great man, some of the character's genius usually drains, by a kind of literary osmosis, into the pen of the biographer. This has not, unfortunately, happened in the case of the present book. The result is that, while Evans gives you every fact in Bevin's life that you could possibly want to know, he has never quite managed to present a compelling picture of a man. You never quite see the chunky West Country farmboy who rose from the wet cobbles of Bristol's waterfront to the dim corridors of the Foreign Office. The globular, emotional idealist who fought for his ideals with both brain and fists doesn't quite come through in Evans' lucid prose.

Therefore I should like to suggest that, for the flash of human insight which *Bevin of Britain* lacks, the reader also consult chapters on Bevin in three earlier books: *Bevin and Co.*, by Patricia Strauss, *Men on Trial*, by Peter Howard, and *The Men Around Churchill*, by René Kraus. Author Evans can give you the facts. Authors Strauss, Howard and Kraus can give you the man.

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Saving Capitalism

Democratic Capitalism, by David W. Raudenbush. New York: The John Day Company. 338 pages. $3.50.

ONE of the principal differences between the present and the former postwar period is that there is far less creative thinking about economic organization. In many parts of the world socialists are busy applying their traditional doctrines. In the United States the only modification of the existing order commonly suggested is stabilization through fiscal policy—a proposal which dates from the depression era. Adherents of "private enterprise" are for the most part satisfied to attack alternatives without offering any new programs for avoiding the crises of unemployment which have always assailed the capitalist order.

This book, by a man who believes in capitalism and wants to preserve it, is almost unique in recognizing the actual (not the imaginary) dangers which confront it, and in advancing a novel proposal to circumvent them. A corporation lawyer with Army experience abroad, he writes vigorously and with a healthy respect for fact. His insights are, on the whole, better than his mastery of economic problems, and consequently the book is uneven. Among its best pages are those which analyze the role of the Soviet Union in the postwar world and the failure of the "war of liberation" to arouse in the liberated peoples much enthusiasm for democratic capitalism. The future of Europe, as he sees it, lies between socialism and communism.

Mr. Raudenbush's analysis of the development of capitalism in the United States rests on far too narrow a base—it is derived almost entirely from Burnham's *The Managerial Revolution* and studies of the Brookings Institution, the main conclusion of which is that the failure fully to employ productive facilities arises from the reluctance of business to reduce prices or raise wages as rapidly as technical efficiency grows. Both the Burnham thesis and that of Brookings have been severely damaged by expert criticism. Even if either were wholly acceptable, it would omit many important considerations. Still, they constitute useful hypotheses in a field where good hypothesis has recently been too rare. Their combination leads to a stimulating argument.

Without substantial modification, the author concludes, capitalism will develop into a managerial dictatorship either of the socialist or some other variety. It will do so because it is unable to distribute sufficient purchasing power to avoid unemployment, and because efforts to preserve or remedy it will lead to the application of management on an ever larger scale.

Mr. Raudenbush gives small consideration to the possibility of restoring a fully competitive capitalism by governmental anti-trust action. Nor does he believe that administrative regulation of prices and wages, whether by government or by private business, can succeed, because it must be a projection into the future of past experience which is likely to be irrelevant to new conditions. He therefore suggests retroactive distribution of a large percentage of profits to employees and consumers on the principle of a combination of profit-sharing and consumer coöperation. This result, he argues, can be achieved by an income-tax law which would collect in taxes any part of the specified percentage of profits not so distributed. He would also, in

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the long run, break up big business combinations by requiring that common-stock ownership be permitted only to the employees of the concern issuing stock. The consequence, he believes, would be both greater flexibility and stability of the economic order.

Though the author makes a heroic attempt to answer in advance criticisms which are sure to be made of such a proposal, a good deal more work would have to be devoted to elaborating and defending it before it could win much expert support. Even assuming that this hurdle could be jumped, the book completely fails to answer the crucial question how those in the seats of power could be persuaded to accept such a drastic revision. Aside from practical considerations, however, this is a welcome exercise of the imagination, in a direction in which imaginative thinking is sadly lacking.

GEORGE SOULE

New Republic News

The winner of the T. R. B. contest (*NR* News, September 16) is Mrs. George Ellis, of Orange, Connecticut. She hit the nail on the head with her guess that T. R. B. had a four-week vacation this summer, and got the dates right. Mrs. Ellis will receive 12 months of the *New Republic* free. Three months will be added to the subscription of Philip Cohen of New York City, who guessed correctly but a little late.

Contestants wrote in from all over the United States, with heavy returns from California and the Southern states. Washington, D. C., T. R. B.'s home grounds, weighed in with a lot of wrong guesses. One contestant had the right answers, scratched them out and substituted an incorrect set of dates. One more proof that you can't second-guess T. R. B.

• • •

Did you notice the change in our *New Republic* title line on the cover this week? In the new design, the vertical line on the letter *p* in *Republic* ties in with a solid black line across the cover. The ship has been put into a circle and moved up into the *bli* of *Republic*. The change was suggested by one of our readers, Mr. Burnley Weaver, of Asheville, North Carolina. Mr. Weaver said he liked the recent changes in typography, but that the cover made him a little nervous. Feeling any better, Mr. Weaver?

• • •

Ted Cott, who this week inaugurates a radio column in the *New Republic*, says he thinks he is the only man listed in *Who's Who in Music* who can't read a note. Ted is program manager of station WNEW, New York. He began at WNYC, back in 1933, then went to CBS, where he did the "So You Think You Know Music" show. He has had shows on NBC and Mutual as well. You will be hearing his latest 30-second recordings on racial tolerance soon. They begin with the first four notes of "America the Beautiful," and end with the "I'm just an Irish, Negro, Jewish, Italian . . . American" lines from "Ballad for Americans." Announced over WNEW, the recordings are being distributed throughout the nation by the Institute for Democratic Education.

Ted is 29, a native of Poughkeepsie, New York, is married and has two children. He is the author of *How to Audition for Radio* and the *Victor Book of Musical Fun*.

• • •

Frederick Ebright's poetry has appeared in Oscar Williams' anthology, *New Poems: 1944*, and in many magazines. He is now working on a novel.

Milton Mazer is a physician who has published articles in medical journals and short stories in the *New Yorker*, *Esquire* and *Direction*.

R. Ernest Dupuy has recently been retired from the United States Army as a colonel. He served in both world wars, in combat and in public relations. In this war he was SHAEF public-relations officer, and was acting director of the War Department Bureau of Public Relations after V-E Day.

Denis Plimmer has just returned from a summer in England and France as a foreign correspondent for the Overseas News Agency. He returns to London this fall to take over the post of Bureau Chief in the ONA'S bureau there. He is a former Foreign News Editor of *Time* Magazine, a radio commentator and a magazine-writer, and has contributed a number of articles and book reviews to the *New Republic*.

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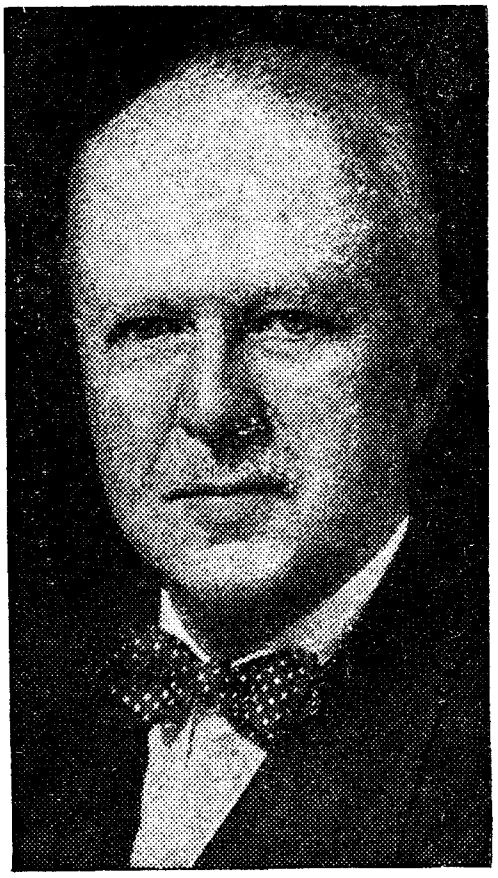

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